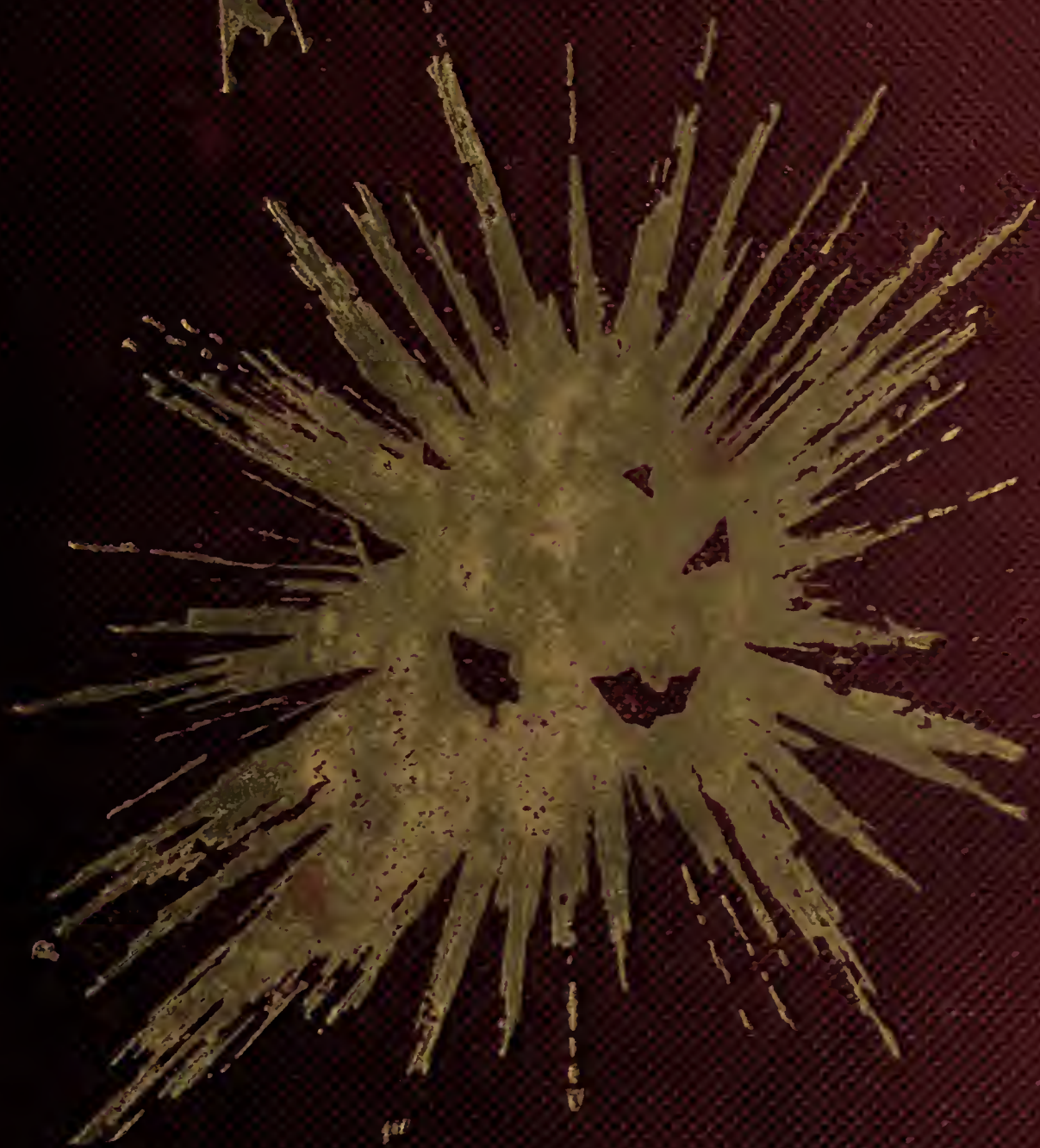


ANARCHY ITS METHODS AND EXPONENTS

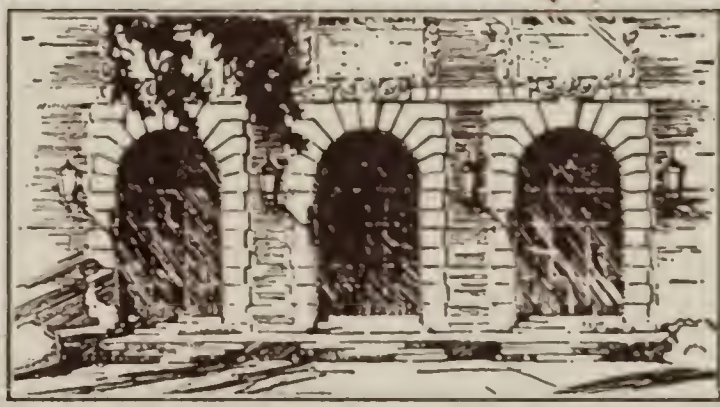


BY
PETER LATOUCHE

LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

335.8

L351a



The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

NOV 6 1976

MAR 21 1977

MAR 3 1977

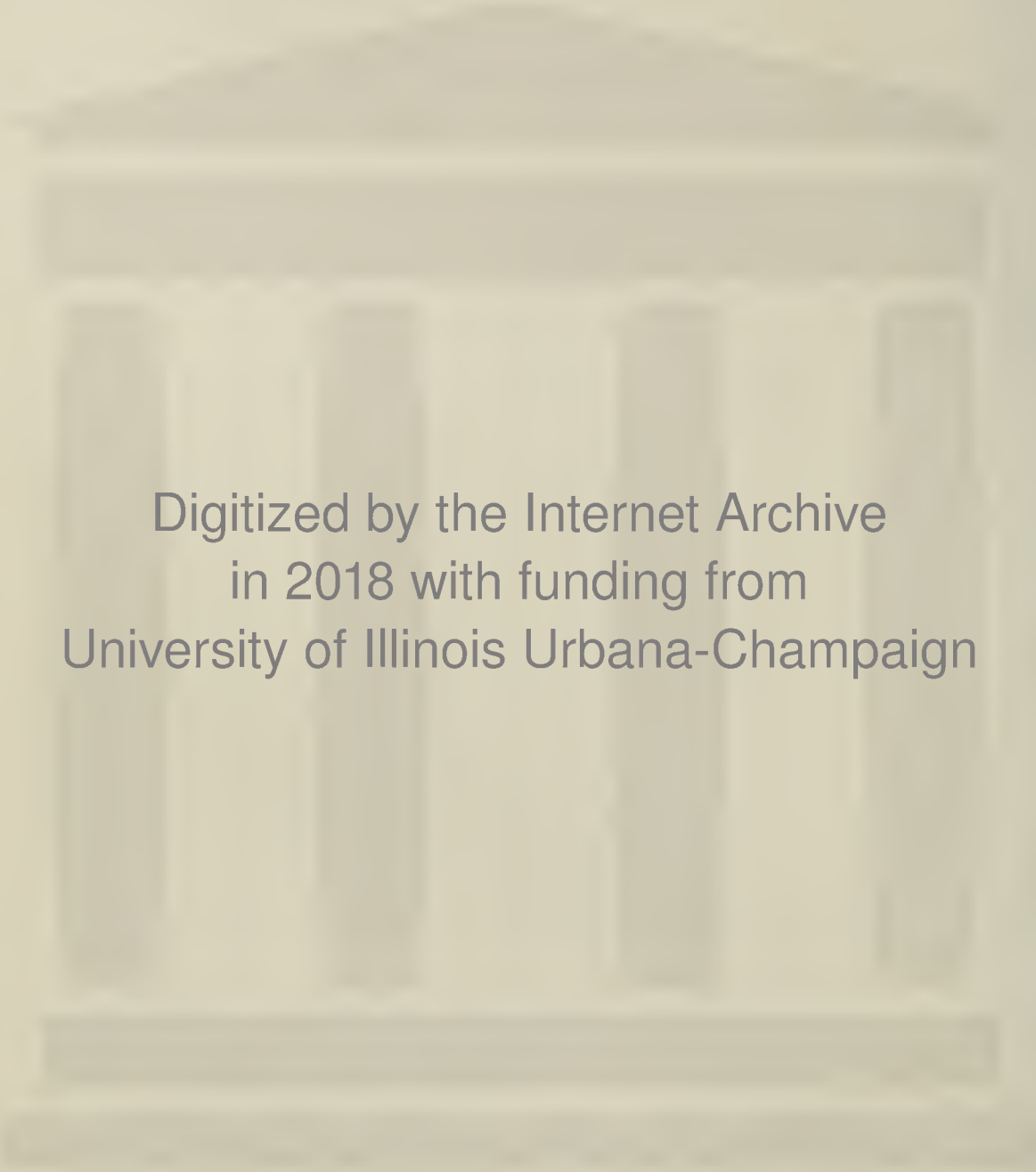
APR 02 1986

JUN 11 1996

JUL 02 1997

AUG 30 1999

OCT 15 1998



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

ANARCHY





THE KING AND CROWN PRINCE OF PORTUGAL.

ASSASSINATED AT LISBON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1908.

ANARCHY!

AN
AUTHENTIC EXPOSITION
OF THE
METHODS OF ANARCHISTS
AND THE
AIMS OF ANARCHISM

BY
PETER LATOUCHE

London:

EVERETT & CO.

42 ESSEX STREET, STRAND, W.C.

1908

335.5
L351a

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	I
CHAPTER I. PHILOSOPHIC ANARCHISM: PRUDHON ..	11
II. REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM: BAKUNINE	20
III. RECORDS OF ANARCHISM	28
IV. A KING AMONG THE ANARCHISTS ..	40
V. ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARIES: PLOT TO FOUND A REPUBLIC	46
VI. ANARCHIST CLUBS IN LONDON	59
VII. MOB MONDAY	68
VIII. THE WEST-END RIOTS	74
IX. THE MAN WITH THE RED FLAG	82
X. ANARCHISM IN ITALY	106
XI. HOW ANARCHISM SPREAD IN AMERICA	112
XII. ANARCHIST CRIMES	123
XIII. ANARCHIST CRIMES— <i>continued</i>	131
XIV. ANARCHIST COLONIES IN ENGLAND ..	135
XV. HOW ANARCHISM ATTRACTS CRIMINALS..	141
XVI. AN ANARCHIST IN SUBURBIA	152
XVII. KROPOTKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY ..	161
XVIII. KROPOTKIN AS A STRUGGLE-FOR-LIFER	166
XIX. KROPOTKIN'S EXPOSITION OF ANARCHISM	173
XX. TOLSTOI: AN ANARCHIST WHO IS UN- MOLESTED IN RUSSIA	179
XXI. WILLIAM MORRIS	187
XXII. LOUISE MICHEL	191
XXIII. JOHN MORRISON DAVIDSON	204
XXIV. ENRICO MALATESTA	211
XXV. ANTONIO MALVOLIO	220
XXVI. POLICE SURVEILLANCE OF ANARCHISTS	229
XXVII. THE ANARCHIST HYMN: "LA CARMAGNOLE"	234
XXVIII. THE PORTUGUESE ASSASSINATIONS ..	237

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE KING AND CROWN PRINCE OF PORTUGAL. Assassinated at Lisbon, Saturday, February 1ST, 1908	<i>Frontispiece</i>
MICHAEL BAKUNINE	<i>Facing Page 20</i>
JOHANN MOST	34
ELISEE RÉCLUS. Anarchist and Geographer	38
THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN, whose assassination was attempted by Mateo del Moral	122
MATEO DEL MORAL	140
CASERIO SANTO. Murderer of President Carnot	144
LUCCHENI. Murderer of the Empress of Austria	145
GAETANO BRESCI. Murderer of the King of Italy	145
EMMA GOLDMAN. Anarchist Lecturer	148
CZOLGOSZ. Murderer of President McKinley	148
SPANISH TORTURE CHAIR. Now in Horni- man's Museum	150
PRINCE KROPOTKIN'S COTTAGE	154
PRINCE KROPOTKIN	160
COUNT TOLSTOI	180
WILLIAM MORRIS	188
LOUISE MICHEL	192
ENRICO MALATESTA	212

P R E F A C E

THERE is considerable misapprehension in the public mind in regard to the aims and methods of Anarchism. Anarchists are supposed to be members of a secret conspiracy for the purpose of arranging the assassination of rulers and governors, inspired by a blind hatred of those in power, or in revenge for their real or supposed misdeeds. That Anarchism has any philosophical or logical basis seems to be unsuspected, in spite of the fact that its adherents include men foremost in science, literature and art, such as Kropotkin, Tolstoi, and William Morris.

Anarchism is so entirely misunderstood that it is loosely held by many writers to be an interchangeable term with Communism and Socialism ; in fact, it is applied to almost any unpopular or little-known

Anarchy

form of advanced political effort, especially if it be associated with violence and outrage.

Some of the books which pretend to lay bare the "secrets" of Anarchism, and purport to be written by ex-Anarchists, are impudent impostures which accentuate these mistaken impressions. The secrets of Anarchism cannot be exposed, because, like the snakes in Iceland, they do not exist. Anarchism has but one underlying principle, the assertion of individualism ; and conspiracy, implying as it must the carrying out by one or more of the wishes of others, necessarily becomes a form of compulsion and is regarded as tyrannous.

No Anarchist assassination has been the outcome of a conspiracy ; and the statements which have been made about the drawing of lots for the selection of the assassin has no foundation outside the pages of the penny novelette.

I make the assertion on positive knowledge, but it is capable of proof by facts which are generally known. For instance, after every appalling Anarchist outrage, such as the assassination of the Empress of Austria and that of the King of Italy, hundreds of Anarchists

were arrested in almost every country, including England, the police intention being to discover if possible the roots of the supposed conspiracy. These drastic measures had of course no result, because the assassin, in his horrible design, acted on his own initiative

I understand that the outrage committed by Moral in Madrid, which, so far as the young King and Queen were concerned, was providentially frustrated, was followed by no wholesale arrests of Anarchists in England, owing to the inclusion in the Liberal Cabinet of a member who knows that there is no such thing as an Anarchist conspiracy. Pinkerton, the famous American detective, as I show in the chapter on "Police Surveillance," speaking from his wide and unequalled experience, bears testimony to the accuracy of my contention. I might also adduce in further proof the horrible tortures resorted to in Spanish prisons, an idea of the unspeakable nature of which can be gathered from the reproduction of the torture chair in the Castle of Montjuich which will be found facing page 150. If Anarchistic conspiracies existed no human tongue could resist revealing them under the

Anarchy

fiendish tortures which have been and probably are still unavailingly inflicted.

This notion of a secret organization underlying Anarchism is a favourite theme with journalists, who sometimes build quite ingenious theories in support of this entirely fallacious notion. Mr. Edgar Wallace, for instance, in the *Daily Mail*, August 29th, 1906, calls attention to "the uniformity of weapon used by the Terrorists in those murders, or attempted murders, that have been committed during the past two years."

The weapon in question is the Browning pistol, and Mr. Wallace, having cited instances of its use in connection with certain murderous outrages, proceeds to argue from this "that it all points to a central organization, to one brain-control that is pulling the strings of Anarchism the world over; that in addition to finding funds for the work is arming the Anarchist throughout the world with a weapon of a uniform pattern."

The bottom is knocked out of Mr. Wallace's pretty theory by the fact that there is no connection, and no possible connection, between the Anarchists and the Russian Terrorists. The latter are Constitutionalists

and are as opposed to Anarchy as are, let us say, the English Tory party. Russian outrage was at the time rife, but this was largely due to the despotic suppression of the Duma ; but if the Duma were established and given the fullest powers the progressive party in Russia seek, and the granting of which the Terrorists aim at, it would merely mean the substitution of a democratic form of government for an autocratic one, and would be equally obnoxious to Anarchists, who regard any form of government as oppressive and tyrannous.

One of the most popular misconceptions of the moment is this supposition that Russian Terrorists are Anarchists. The only grounds for this notion is that they conspire in secret and enforce their demands by outrage. But if all conspirators and outrage-mongers are necessarily Anarchists, then we must accept the term in a sense wide enough to include those who took part in the early trade union movement, and the Irish Land Agitation.

I repeat, however, that Anarchism cannot countenance conspiracy, and that it does not organize outrage or violence of any description. It is a philosophic, Utopian ideal which is perfectly harmless when

Anarchy

embraced by a man of benevolent disposition, and becomes an appalling condonation of even the most frightful deeds when held by a criminal. Because of this it is no more logical to argue that Anarchism *per se* is evil, than to denounce Christianity because of the crimes that have been done in its name. The burnings and torturings of Christianity belong to a past, and, we are willing to believe, a more ignorant age. We regard them as an evil graft on Christianity, and not a part of it. The crimes of Anarchism in like manner are no part of Anarchism ; they were committed by criminals who professed to be, and probably were, Anarchists.

It is with diffidence that I venture to state some conclusions I have arrived at, and make a few suggestions which are the outcome of the careful study I have made of Anarchists and Anarchism. In my investigations, while collecting the material for this volume, I have frankly taken the popular view in my discussions with Anarchists. I have found them, without exception, broad-minded and reasonable men, unusually devoid of prejudice of any sort. Among them were many who had been expelled from other

countries, and some who had even been sentenced to death and contrived to escape. Whatever else may be said for or against Anarchism I feel bound to acknowledge this much for it as a philosophy ; that it successfully inculcates such a stoic indifference to individual sufferings that the average Anarchist seems to me one who, above all others, harbours the least resentment for injuries he has sustained, and the least desire to avenge them.

A remarkable instance of this was afforded by the Spanish Anarchists who were tortured in a fiendish manner which obvious considerations make it impossible for me to describe. Their unspeakable sufferings were the subject of much comment in the English press a few years ago.

One would have thought that the memory of such sufferings must be ineffaceable, but I was astounded to find that they were amply recompensed by the hope that the publicity given to their experiences would prevent like sufferings befalling other " comrades."

It is therefore with exceptional opportunities for forming a reliable opinion that I have come to the conclusion that the publicity given by newspapers to

Anarchy

the deeds of the criminal-Anarchist is in a large measure responsible for the recurrence of these appalling and senseless outrages. The glory of posing as an Anarchist martyr, and of being the subject of sensational comment in the columns of every newspaper in the civilized world, is an incitement to the blasé criminal such as Ravachol, and the weak-minded young fool of the type of Sipido. Anarchism has attracted to its ranks thousands of intellectual men. Malatesta, for instance, to whom has been foolishly ascribed the "organization" of half the real or assumed Anarchistic outrages which have taken place all over the world, is a member of a wealthy Italian family, and studied for the medical profession. He might have made a fortune out of libel actions if he chose to resent the many newspaper imputations of outrage made against him, but his Anarchistic principles—summed up in the doctrine of the non-resistance of evil—will not permit him to invoke an aid, that of the law, which he, of course, regards as an oppression.

I would ask newspaper editors to reflect that if Malatesta had that connection with outrage which they so glibly allege, he would be unable to reside and

openly follow his occupation in London. If they will then go one step further and ascertain that Anarchist outrages are never committed by men of the type of Malatesta, and are almost invariably committed by those who have led useless or criminal lives they may agree with me, that it is as criminals only such scoundrels should be regarded and held up to the opprobrium of the world.

A drunken man fired a revolver at Louise Michel, and he was regarded simply as a drunkard. He was very probably also an atheist or a Roman Catholic ; but it would have been unfair to ascribe his stupid act either to atheism or Roman Catholicism. In like manner it should not be worthy of notice that the criminal who commits a dastardly outrage happens to be an Anarchist, or a Republican. If Anarchism were responsible for his crime, it would be a different thing ; but as the police of Europe and America now know that such crimes are never the outcome of conspiracy it crowns assassination with a halo to accept it as something done for the advancement of a principle.

Another evil which results from this injudicious publicity is that it associates Anarchism—in itself a

Anarchy

perfectly harmless philosophy—with these dastardly deeds, and dangles before the criminal followers of Anarchism the dazzling prospect of notoriety. A man like Kropotkin may sacrifice wealth and station for Anarchism, and suffer endless privations for it ; but to the mind of the ignorant, unintellectual Anarchist of criminal bent, he fades into obscurity in the glory of the fame bestowed by the press on such a scoundrel as Ravachol, who was guilty of crimes innumerable, apart from Anarchism, before his wretched career was brought to an end.

I am not an apologist for Anarchism, nor do I denounce it. My attitude is that of an impartial investigator ; and the succeeding chapters in which I give the results of my study and investigations will I trust prove of some public benefit in affording reliable information on a subject which is much more discussed than understood.

PETER LATOUCHE.

ANARCHY

CHAPTER I

PHILOSOPHIC ANARCHISM—PIERRE JOSEPH PRUDHON

“Property is Robbery. Property Holders are Thieves.”

This is the dominating principle of Anarchy as laid down by its founder, Pierre Joseph Prudhon, in 1840. A system which disowns system, must appear to the average mind as merely an insane imagining rather than an intellectual conception, and as such appears on the face of it to be something which defies analysis or exposition. Yet Anarchy is an undeniable force in so far that it has made intellectual conquest not only of the wastrel and the low-witted but also of the wise and the wealthy. Not in great numbers, it is fortunately true; but impotence in numbers is discounted by madness in conception, and wickedness in deed.

Even in this condemnation of the worst aspect of Anarchism, we are face to face with the fact that

Anarchy

danger cannot be measured by the paucity in numbers of those we have cause to fear. Few as are the professed Anarchists throughout the world, by far the larger proportion dissociate themselves from and condemn all recourse to outrage and violence ; but the little knot of insane criminals who believe in hastening their millennium by outrage, few as they are, causes royalty to be an unenvied position, and keeps the detective forces of all civilized States for ever on the alert to protect the world's rulers.

The horror and dread of Anarchism is shared by all peoples of all nations, but Anarchism itself remains as insoluble and as inexplicable as the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The man in the street has a vague notion that an Anarchist is consumed with the one wicked desire to kill rulers ; that he carries this desire to such an illogical and inexplicable extent that he does not discriminate between Monarch or President, between King or Queen, between popular or unpopular Sovereign. This is the general conception of the Anarchist's aim, but what that Anarchism is which impels a man to be such a lunatic and a criminal is as much a mystery to him as the origin of the Battle of Blenheim was to Gaspar in the well-known poem.

The writer does not pretend to understand Anarchism, and he confesses that study of the writings of the Anarchist leaders, and friendly and unprejudiced

discussions with Anarchists, has failed to enlighten him, but he will as fairly, clearly, fully, and impartially as possible let Anarchists speak for themselves.

The Anarchist movement is now world-wide. It began with the startling pronouncement which heads this chapter, written by Prudhon in 1840. It would seem to most people that such a statement could only proceed from a madman, and could only be received by sane people with a smile. Instead of such a reasonable and proper result it has inspired lunatics and criminals to murder Kings, Queens, and Presidents, and has attracted to its blood-red banner some of the greatest thinkers and the greatest scoundrels of two continents.

Prudhon was born at Besançon, in 1809, of peasant parents. When he was ten years of age he was employed as a cowherd on the Jura Mountains. He might have remained an unlettered, and more or less unthinking peasant all his days, had not chance when he was a youth led him to seek and obtain an engagement at an inn as a waiter. He turned his wider opportunities in this position to such advantage that while there he managed to acquire a knowledge both of German and Italian.

Like most of his disciples he was consumed with a thirst for knowledge, and out of his scanty earnings he managed to pay for a course of schooling which accentuated and improved his self-acquired learning. At nineteen he secured an opening in keeping with his

intellectual bent, for he was able to change his vocation as a waiter for that of a proof-reader, and so had an opportunity for continuous miscellaneous reading.

Many works on theology passed through his hands, which made such an impression on his mind that he had serious thoughts of entering the Roman Catholic Church. He did, as a matter of fact, enter warmly into religious controversy, and was also a valued contributor to the *Encyclopédiæ Catholique*. His works were so highly considered that the French bishops exerted themselves successfully on his behalf, and obtained for him a pension of 1,500 francs per annum from the Academie de Besançon.

A digression may here be pardoned to draw attention to the curious fact that extremists are almost invariably men who have had pronounced religious tendencies. Nearly all prominent Anarchists have, like Prudhon, had their period of religious exaltation. The same may be said of the various sections of Socialists, and even of the advanced Labour Parties. A large percentage of the Labour M.P.'s have been, or are, local preachers ; and the Independent Labour Party gives evidence of this curious trait in an exceptional manner, for it has evolved a religious organization of its own, known as the Labour Church.

Prudhon, raised to comparative affluence by his pension, applied himself to the study of Political

Economy, and also paid much attention to the aims and tenets of Socialism. Like Tolstoi, he found the first ineffective, and the second entirely lacking in all that he deemed necessary for the social regeneration of the world. For a long period he studied the social conditions without coming to any conclusion. His intellect was in labour, but not until 1840 did it give birth to the amazing theories which called Anarchy into existence.

In this year he published his epoch-making work, "Qu'est ce que la Propriété?" ("What is Property?") and answered the question with the amazing pronouncement already quoted:—"Property is Robbery. Property Holders are Thieves."

The book as a whole is no more convincing than the quotation given. It contains little beyond unreasoning denunciation of the same character, but it made an unaccountable sensation on its appearance, and was speedily hailed as a gospel of social regeneration by a section of the peoples of all nations.

Six years later Prudhon endeavoured to collate his wild imaginings into something like an ordered philosophy, and published his work under the title "The Philosophy of Misery." In this he lays himself open to the risks which befall those who write a book. His bitterest enemies could not desire a sweeter revenge than is afforded by the opportunity of criticising Prudhon's constructive capacity or intellectual power

in the panacea which he submits for the removal of misery from the peoples of the world.

By what seems a species of intellectual throwback, he chooses for his motto the phrase employed by Our Saviour : “ *Destruam et ædificabo* ” (“ I will destroy and I will rebuild ”). It is this quotation, strangely enough, which the violent section of Anarchists adopt as their motto, and interpret—to their own satisfaction—to justify their abominable crimes.

The following passages from Prudhon’s treatise explain his conception of Anarchism and the manner in which its principles should be put into application :—

“ What is the ideal society ? Anarchy. We desire absolute liberty. Any control of man by man is oppression. Justice and legality are two things as independent of our consent as mathematical truth. In order that truth should become law it must be recognized. Now what is it to recognize a law ? It is to verify a mathematical or metaphysical operation. It is to repeat an experience, to observe a phenomenon, to prove a fact.”

To bring about the abolition of government, Prudhon proposed to establish a bank in Paris with branches all over the country, the recognized drafts on which should represent so much labour. The notes of this chimerical institution would represent a claim on the drawer for an equivalent amount of work. Credit would be given for everything necessary for existence,

and drafts on this bank would alone be accepted for implements of labour, raw material, etc.

Under such Utopian conditions no one would work for landlords and capitalists, and they would themselves be obliged to draw through this bank on their capacity for labour to provide themselves with the means of existence. Property—as understood—would, therefore, at once become valueless.

Such is the conception of the ideal state by the founder of Anarchism.

Prudhon took no part in the Revolution of 1848, acting on the principle that all governments were equally bad ; but he consented to allow himself to be nominated as one of the candidates for the Department of the Seine and was returned by a large majority to the assembly. Apparently his only object in thus recognizing a system of government was in the vain hope that he might induce it to commit suicide by the adoption of his extraordinary proposal. This was, in fact, the only proposal which he made ; and, as might have been expected, it met with complete and utter rejection—by 691 votes to 2 !

This was Prudhon's first and only attempt at a Fabian policy. It convinced him that charming the enemy was a useless experiment, and it no doubt embittered his attitude in the propaganda on which he now entered. But France, scarcely sober from a bloody revolution, had no mind for even a peaceful one.

Prudhon and his extraordinary gospel were regarded as a nuisance more than a public danger ; but sufficiently obnoxious, at all events, to secure him a sentence of three years' imprisonment in 1849. In 1858 he was again sentenced, but managed to escape into Belgium. Regarded with contemptuous tolerance he was permitted to return to France in 1860, and died at Plassy five years later.

In his later days it seemed as if Prudhon were forgotten, and his works were being neglected. If so, it was but a temporary obscurity, from which his memory and his works have emerged brighter and more inspiring. His " Invocation to Liberty " has been translated into every European and several Oriental languages, and is to this day frequently recited at Anarchist meetings.

It reads as follows :—

" O God of Liberty ! God of Equality ! I have spoken as Thou hast given me power and talent ; it remains for Thee to complete Thy work. May my memory perish, if humanity but be free. Shorten, if it may be, our time of trial ; smother inequality, pride and avarice. Teach Thy poor children that in the heaven of Liberty there are no more heroes nor grand men. Inspire the strong one, the wealthy one, whose name my lips shall never pronounce before Thee, with horror on account of his robberies. Then

the great and the small, the rich and the poor, will unite in one ineffable fraternity, and all together, chanting a new hymn, will re-erect Thy altar, O God of Liberty and Equality."

But while Prudhon, the protégé of bishops when a youth, spoke thus of the "God of Liberty," he declared in his writings that the "God of the Churches" was *the evil!*

Such was the founder of Anarchism, and such his teachings.

Not for long, however, did Anarchists believe that regeneration was to be found by the establishment of a National Credit Bank and in invocations to the God of Liberty. Even before Prudhon's death his harmless visionary teachings were labelled "Philosophic Anarchism." The school of "Revolutionary Anarchism"—revolution by any and every means—had arisen.

CHAPTER II

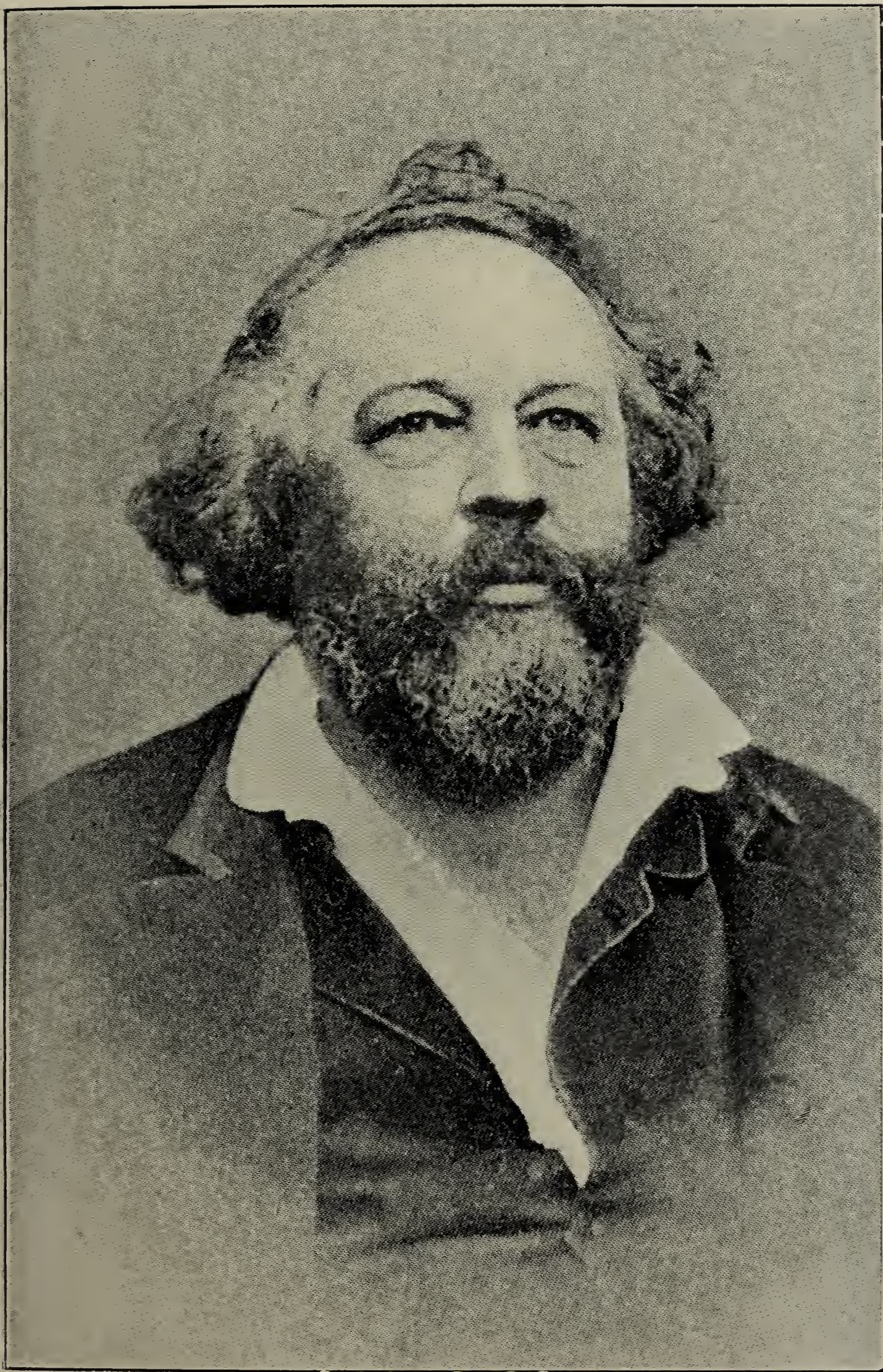
REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM—MICHAEL BAKUNINE

PRUDHON'S visionary theories spread nowhere more rapidly than in Russia, and in Michael Bakunine, the founder of Revolutionary Nihilism, they found an ardent and fearless advocate.

Bakunine, like the majority of the Russian Revolutionists, came of an aristocratic family ; and at the time he came into prominence as an exponent of extreme views he was holding an important command in the Imperial Artillery.

The turning point in his career was when, in connection with his command, he was ordered to Poland. The barbarous means adopted to suppress the Polish rising so disgusted him that he resigned his command. He spent some time in Moscow and Berlin, but in 1848 he went to Paris, and there met Prudhon.

He proved a ready and ardent disciple, and, as is usually the case, very soon outpaced his tutor. The consequence was that he was promptly expelled from France as an "enemy of Society." He made Geneva



MICHAEL BAKUNINE.

To face page 20.

and Berne his headquarters and there organized and established a "Pan Slavonic Revolutionary Federation." Geneva and Berne have ever since been the headquarters of the Russian Revolutionists. They were, however, held responsible for the unspeakably wicked and barbarous assassination of the Empress of Austria, and although all the leading Anarchists and Anarchist Associations have disclaimed all connection with the crime, many Russian Revolutionaries have found it convenient to leave Switzerland and install themselves in London.

Bakunine was too active a spirit to confine himself to the mere direction of events from Geneva, and in 1849 he was sentenced to death for having taken part in an abortive rising in Dresden. The sentence was eventually commuted to one of imprisonment for life. He escaped from Germany, but was recaptured in Austria, and was once more sentenced to be shot. The Emperor Francis Joseph, however, commuted the sentence and handed him over to the Czar, who condemned him to incarceration for life in the Petropavloffski Fortress at St. Petersburg. Eight years he endured this terrible punishment, and then he was consigned to the scarcely less awful torture of being exiled to Siberia.

One would have thought that after such experiences he would have been crushed in body and spirit ; but such was not the case, for he contrived to escape, and

Anarchy

succeeded in tramping across the wild wastes of Russia's prison-country, eventually reaching Japan.

After a brief sojourn in the land of the Mikado, he sailed for California ; but in 1861 he made his appearance at the Mecca of all revolutionary exiles—Soho. During his stay in London he was employed on a Russian Revolutionary weekly, called the *Bell*, but on the whole he led the quiet life of an ordinary citizen. He did not again become prominent until 1869, when he took part in "The Congress of the League of Peace and Liberty," which was held in that year at Berne, under the presidency of Victor Hugo. This Congress was attended by several English M.P.'s, among them, I believe, Mr. W. S. Cremer, always prominent in movements having the maintenance of peace as an object.

On this occasion Bakunine returned to his favourite *rôle* of the firebrand, and submitted resolutions in favour of Anarchistic Collectivism which were overwhelmingly rejected. Unable to influence the Congress as a whole he endeavoured to secure the adoption of his views by the Marxian Socialists—the founders of the German and English Socialist Parties and the Independent Labour Party—but he was wholly unsuccessful, and his heroic, if unwise persistence, ended in his expulsion.

Bakunine took advantage of the Franco-Prussian War to endeavour to find acceptance of his doctrines,

and after the proclamation of the Republic he endeavoured to organize—an expression which seems curiously inappropriate when applied to the efforts of an Anarchist—at Lyons but utterly failed. His persistent attempts, however, led to his arrest, and his subsequent trial is noteworthy owing to the fact that it led to the publication of the creed of the Revolutionary Anarchist. This extraordinary document, which is known as the Revolutionary Catechism, is as follows :—

“ We wish liberty, and we believe its existence incompatible with the existence of any power whatsoever, whatever its origin or form.

“ Whether it be elected or imposed. Monarchic or Republican. Whether inspired by Divine right or by popular right.

“ By anointment or universal suffrage, *The Best Governments are the worst.*

“ The Anarchists propose to teach the people how to get along without government.

“ They will learn likewise how to get along without property holders.

“ We wish, in a word, equality. From each according to his faculties, to each according to his needs ; that is what we wish sincerely and energetically.”

His Revolutionary “ Catechism ” also gives the following definition of a “ true Revolutionist,” and it will be seen that scoundrels of the Breschi, Ravachol,

Anarchy

and Moral type conform only too accurately to it :—

“ The Revolutionist is a man under a vow. He ought to have no personal interests, no business, no feelings, no property !

“ He ought to be entirely absorbed in one single interest, one single thought, one single passion—the Revolution !

“ He has only one aim, one science—Destruction.*

“ For that, and for nothing else, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and, sometimes, medicine.

“ He despises and detests assisting morality.

“ Between him and Society there is war.

“ War to the death ; incessant, irreconcilable.

“ He ought to be ready to die, to endure torment, and with his own hands to KILL ALL who place obstacles in the way of the Revolution.

“ So much the worse for him if he has in this world any ties of relationship, of friendship, of love.

“ The most valuable element in our war is women who are completely initiated, and who accept our whole programme.

“ Without their aid we can do nothing.”

Bakunine died at Berne in 1878. He has earned

*It will be noted how far the later Anarchists have travelled from Prudhon's interpretation of the motto, “Destruam et ædificabo.”

undying notoriety in the fact that he is the father of the perverted and criminal views which appeal to the basest instincts, and of those pronouncements and teachings which have turned the effect of Prudhon's visionary theories into incitements to cowardly and useless outrages.

Out of the teachings of these two men, Prudhon and Bakunine, the Anarchist movement as it exists to-day has been evolved.

The overwhelming majority, happily, repudiate the teachings of Bakunine and will subscribe to the following passage which I quote from the December, 1893, issue of the Anarchist organ, *Freedom*, published in London :—

“The genuine Anarchist looks with sheer horror upon every destruction, every mutilation of a human being, physical or moral. He loathes wars, executions, imprisonments, the crippling and poisoning of human nature by the preventable cruelty and injustice of man to man in every shape and form.”

The writer of this paragraph, who is, I am given to understand, a very well-known Anarchist, goes on to explain why he cannot support a parliamentary movement :—

“Every well-meant attempt of the men in power to better things tends to confirm people in the belief that to have men in power is not, after all, a social evil . . . Not the Parliament, not the Govern-

Anarchy

ment, but the organized workmen, could, if they but knew how, put an end to capitalist monopoly, peacefully, by simply bringing the capitalists to the condition of workmen, not by paper money—dreamed of by Prudhon—but by a general strike.”

Absurd as all this seems, it is shorn of the appalling wickedness of Bakunine’s teachings. That it truly represents the prevalent Anarchistic views, and that it has gained no mean foothold in certain countries, recent events—especially in Russia—go far to prove.

The same writer, who may be taken as a fair representative of the greater proportion of Anarchists, attempts to condone in some measure the perpetrators of outrages on the ground that they have been driven to murder by their own misery and that of their fellows.

“The guilt of these homicides,” he goes on, “lies upon every man and woman who intentionally or by cold indifference helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who in ordinary circumstances and in cold blood would commit such deeds is simply a homicidal maniac ; nor do we believe that they can be justified upon any mere ground of expediency. Least of all do we think that any human being has the right to egg on another person to such a course of action. We accept the phenomena of homicidal outrage as among the most terrible facts of human experience ; we endeavour to

look such facts in the face with the understanding of human justice, and we believe that we are doing our utmost to put an end to them by spreading Anarchist ideas throughout Society."

The worst that one feels inclined to say of this is that it is a pity Prudhon's delightfully absurd notion of a National Credit Bank has been rejected in favour of a general strike ; and the best is that Anarchists refer to the perpetrators of outrages as " these homicides."

CHAPTER III

RECORDS OF ANARCHISM

PRIOR to 1848 Germany, Austria, and Italy were ruled as despotically as Russia is to-day, and it would therefore not have been strange had Prudhon's teachings been welcomed in these countries. As a matter of fact, only one man became prominent in Germany during this period. He was named Wilhelm Marr, and his ravings attracted a great deal of attention. His stock demand on his disciples was for "a terrible and bloody revenge upon the rich and mighty," but as might have been expected, this rather unpleasant aspiration of his caused the authorities to order his arrest.

He had timely warning of this and managed to escape to Switzerland, from whence he flooded Germany with Anarchistic pamphlets. But his insane violence and exaggeration tended to nullify his power for harm; even those inclined to extreme views were sickened by his hoarse ravings. He eventually dropped into oblivion as an Anarchist; but towards the close

of his days he sought notoriety, and for a while enjoyed it, as a violent Anti-Semite.

In this later *rôle* he abused the Jews as cordially as he had previously abused the wealthy.

Of a different class and stamp was a working-class leader named Wilhelm Weitling, who about this time sprang into prominence. Weitling was an advocate of Anarchist Communism, which is opposed to violence, and he exerted a considerable influence all over Europe. He advocated the abolition of the State, and the organization of voluntary workmen's associations as a substitute for governments. Some have likened his ideals to trades unions, Communes, and Parish Councils ; but like every scheme which aims at the creation of order by a state of disorder, it is quite beyond ordinary comprehension.

His writings and teachings were disseminated by young mechanics, who at that period travelled throughout Europe for three years in accordance with the old German trade custom. These were, in the main, intelligent and reasonable missionaries ; and if their repetition of what they held from Weitling was toned down out of consideration to their own interests—and also probably owing to the possession of greater commonsense—it was all the better for society, although it created fertile ground for the propagation of extreme views on the Continent.

This same custom of travelling in foreign countries

for a period is still an approved method of training by Germans, and this accounts for the large numbers of young Germans who come to this country as barbers, waiters, and domestic servants.

Weitling eventually emigrated to America, where he had the remarkable experience—for an Anarchist—of becoming an extremely wealthy man. This was owing to the great success of a mechanical contrivance, which is said to have been the forerunner in all essential particulars of the modern sewing machine.

It is almost impossible to get a clear and connected account of Anarchism since its foundation by Prudhon. Its writings are few and are mainly propagandist tracts of the usual fulminating type ; but no consecutive account has ever, prior to this, been previously attempted of the Anarchist movement. In view of the fact that anything of the kind might be held to be—if complete and authentic—more or less of a text book for the guidance of the police, this is not very surprising.

By the close of the sixties, Socialism had taken a strong hold on the artizan class in France and Germany. An “International Workmen’s Association,” to embrace all classes of advanced thought, had been founded by Karl Marx in London. It was run more or less on trade union lines, but was world-wide in its inclusion of federated associations.

Bakunine and several Anarchists of lesser note,

finding that they were making little headway with their own propaganda, conceived the idea of "permeating" the Socialists with their views, and with this object joined the International Association. In England Bakunine was under a cloud. Instead of being viewed as a martyr on account of his imprisonment in Germany and Russia, and his exile to Siberia, he was suspected of being a spy in the secret service of the Czar. Another reason for the disfavour into which he had fallen was that he was extremely poor. This was not quite consistent with the suspicion that he was a spy in the pay of the Czar, but, after all, neither consistency nor logic are to be expected in connection with Anarchist thought. Bakunine's principal supporter and close comrade at this period was the notorious Johann Most, who died as recently as June, 1906. He vigorously assisted Bakunine in his attempts at "permeation," but their joint efforts were quite unsuccessful.

Johann Most made a determined effort to secure the adhesion of the German workers to the principles of Anarchism, and the pleasant little computations he made of the few obstacles which alone need be surmounted for the effectuation of his views, will be read with a sort of amused horror, a mixed feeling which Anarchists alone seem capable of arousing. One of these little computations was that it would not be necessary to kill more than the twentieth part of the

Anarchy

German population (that is to say, a mere trifle of some 2,000,000 people) to destroy the forces of order and make way for his free groups.

In reading such shocking, if absurd, statements, one is almost surprised that the punishment of Anarchists of this type is left to Governments.

After Bakunine's death in 1876 the movement languished for a time ; Johann Most, like Wilhelm Marr, being too violent, and absurd in his violence, to command the attention even of extremists. Two years later it received a considerable impetus, which forced it at a bound into a prominence which commanded the attention of men of all classes of thought all over the world. This great and unlooked for impetus was derived from the open and avowed adherence to the principles of Anarchy of two great and distinguished men, Prince Peter Kropotkin, the great Russian scientist, and E. Reclus, the eminent geographer.

Prince Kropotkin had to give up position, personal freedom, and wealth in taking this step, and this fact led thinking men to believe for the first time that there is possibly something in Anarchy beyond the insensate love of destruction which would appeal to low and brutal natures, the only intelligible characteristic of Anarchism which had hitherto been discoverable in its chaotic teachings.

Kropotkin and Reclus, needless to say, belonged to

the school of Philosophic Anarchists and were utterly opposed to all forms of outrage and violence. From 1882 to 1886 they worked indefatigably all over the Continent, in England, and in America in forming revolutionary organizations of working men. A paper, *La Revolte*, was established, and the movement attracted to its support men and women of a superior class and higher order of intellect than had previously accepted the tenets of Anarchism. A tower of strength to the movement at this time was the "Red Virgin," Louise Michel, just returned from New Caledonia.

The revolution aimed at by Kropotkin and his followers was a social one. The main principle preached and striven for was "Equality and Fraternity." The ideal state, when all men should be equal and love one another as brothers, was to be reached by the abolition of property. So successful was this new phase of the movement that it seemed to have blotted out of existence even the memory of the teachings of Bakunine, and such preachers of destruction as Marr and Most; and many amiable and visionary reformers had begun to regard Anarchism as something as harmless and benevolently ethical as Christian Socialism.

The assassination of the Czar by the Russian Terrorists, however, put an end to this pleasant state of things, and gave new prominence to the violent section. Johann Most, who had settled in England, had established a paper called *Die Freiheit*,

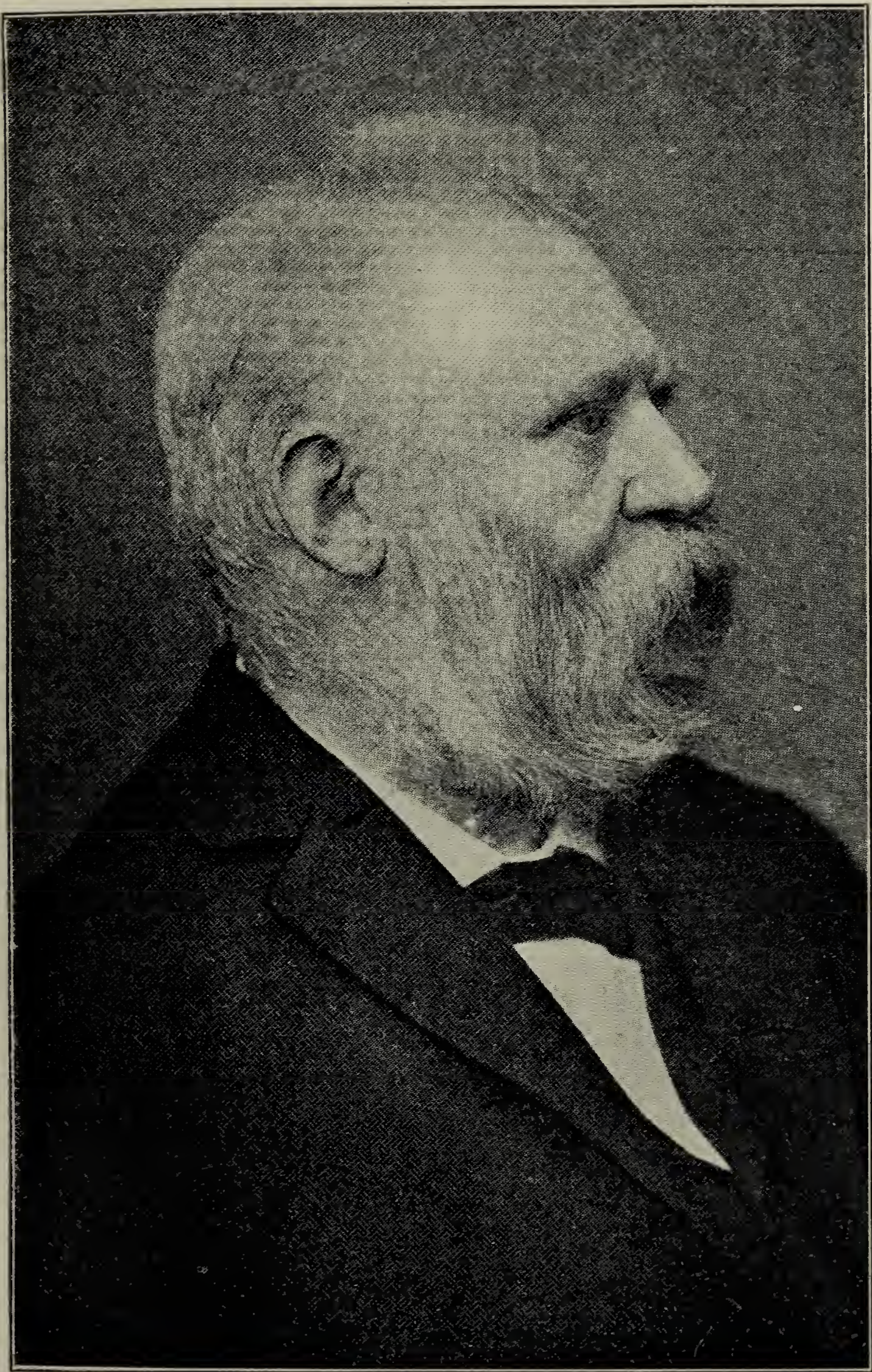
and in this obscure sheet, which was printed in German, he justified the assassination and lauded the perpetrators.

Most's existence had been forgotten, his followers were few, and *Die Freiheit* was unknown save to them. The police authorities in their wisdom or unwisdom, changed all this. They made Most a celebrity, invested his followers with a fictitious importance, and gave *Die Freiheit* a world-wide advertisement by instituting a prosecution against him. He received a sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment; but on the other hand an irreparable evil was done by giving the insignificant band of Revolutionary Anarchists that notoriety, to earn which, it is beyond doubt, many of their heinous crimes are committed. As tending to prove that this gratification of the love of notoriety in criminal Anarchists is impolitic, it may be stated that since Most's "martyrdom" Anarchist outrages have increased in frequency.

After his release Most went to America and re-established his paper in New York.

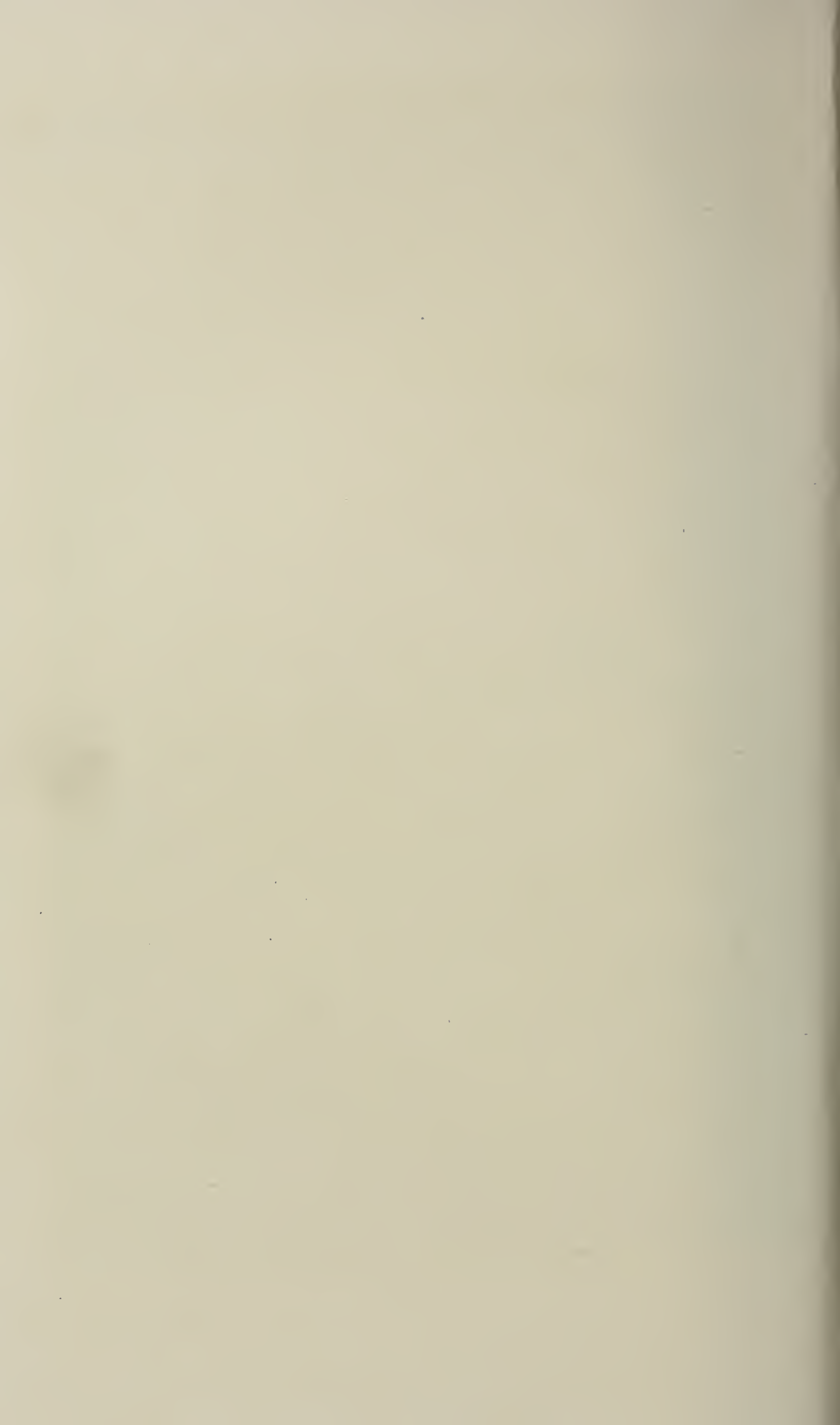
At Pittsburgh, a Congress of Anarchists was held in May, 1883, and the following programme agreed to :—

1. Destruction of the existing class rule by all means, *i.e.* by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.
2. Establishment of a free Society based upon a co-operative system of production.



JOHANN MOST.

To face page 34.



3. Free exchange of equivalent products, by and between the productive organizations, without commerce and profit-mongery.
4. Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.
5. Equal rights for all, without distinction of sex or race.
6. Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous independent communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

This proclamation was issued in Chicago, and it immediately aroused the wrath of the Trust magnates, who called—and their call is one which in America must be obeyed—for drastic police action. Workmen's meetings were broken up indiscriminately, whether called under the auspices of the Anarchists or other bodies. In the course of these various dispersals several workmen were killed; and in consequence of this a huge meeting of protest was organized to be held in the Haymarket, Chicago, to protest against the "wanton brutality of the police."

The Mayor of Chicago declared that the meeting was constitutional and its conduct orderly, but notwithstanding this the police appeared on the scene and ordered the huge gathering to disperse. The result of this action was deplorable. A bomb was thrown among the police, several of whom were killed.

As no one will contend that law, even when applied to Anarchists, should become merely an instrument of unbridled revenge, it must be admitted that the subsequent events make a black and unpleasant chapter in the history of American administration.

Numerous arrests were made, and although it was never clearly ascertained who actually threw the bomb, four men were hanged. The evidence on which this drastic action was taken, was unsatisfactory in the extreme, and will be fully dealt with in the chapter on "Anarchist Outrages."

These attempts on the part of the authorities in a panic to meet violence with violence always leads to retaliation, and Anarchism always flourishes best where it is most persecuted. Russia, France, Italy, and Spain are examples of this; and the comparative immunity we in England enjoy from the excesses of these madmen is the fact that we treat them as ordinary criminals and judge them by the ordinary law.

In the early days of the Social Democratic Federation—a body which has sent several of its members and ex-members to Parliament, and one, Mr. John Burns, to the Cabinet—the Anarchists endeavoured to "permeate" it, apparently undeterred by previous failures in a similar direction. Englishmen, however, take unkindly to movements which do not appeal, in more or less degree, to their common sense. As a matter of

fact Anarchism has always utterly failed to find a foothold in England among Englishmen, and although one or two Englishmen were implicated in the Walsall Dynamite Conspiracy of 1892, it is doubtful if at any time English Revolutionary Anarchists numbered more than a dozen. Many Englishmen fraternised with Anarchists, and coquetted with the movement, but their growing sympathy was checked by the criminal laudation of the assassination of the Czar by Johann Most, and was utterly checked by the natural disgust inspired by the fiendish crimes of Ravachol, Vaillant, and others. The final deathblow to English Anarchism was the closing of the Club Autonomie, in a street off the Tottenham Court Road.

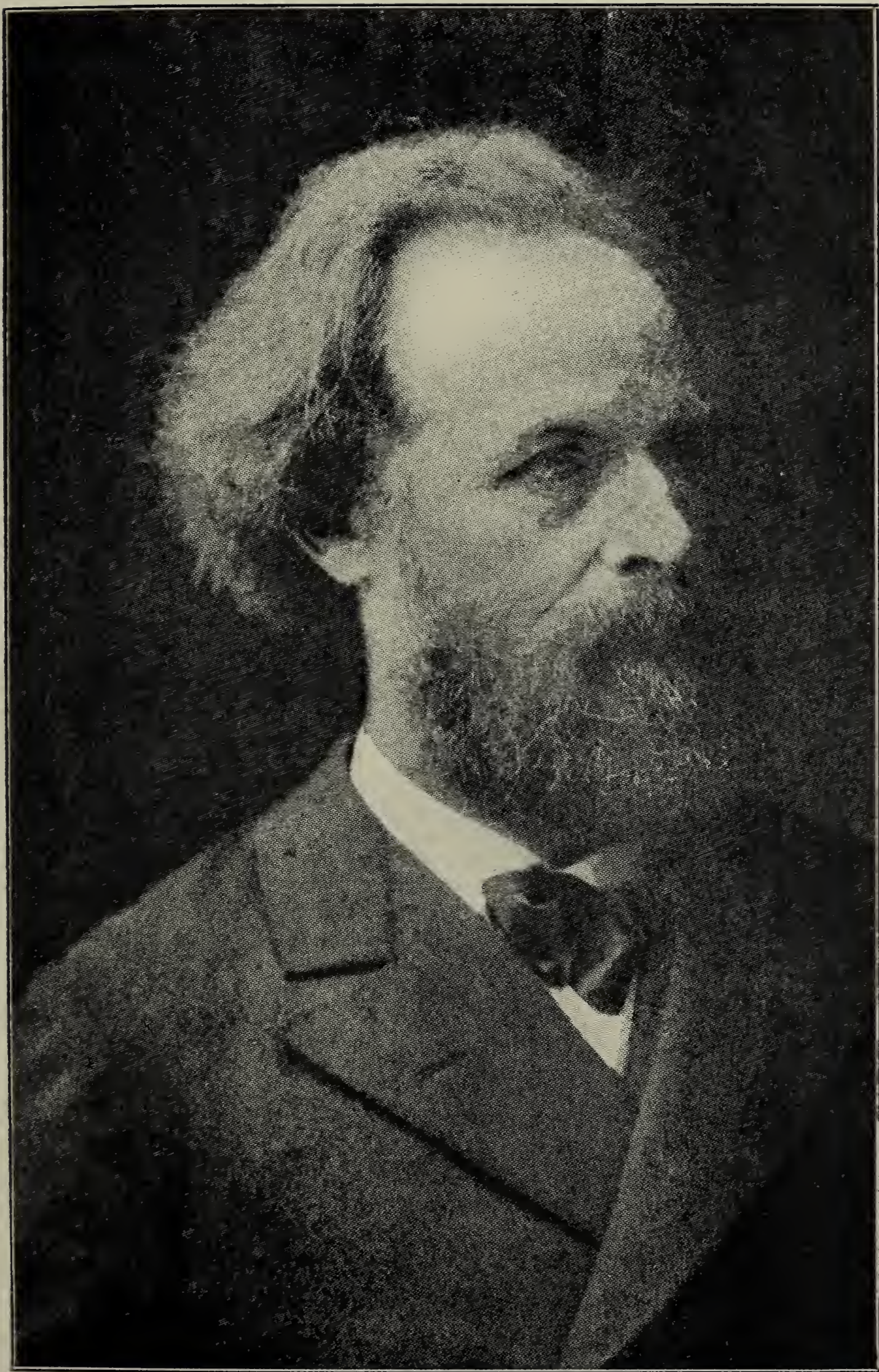
To-day Anarchism in England is an undesirable alien wisely tolerated and ignored by the authorities.

On the Continent Revolutionary Anarchism flourishes among the half-demented victims of oppression, in spite of the vigorous efforts and rigorous methods of the police. Its "newspapers" are printed and circulated secretly, and owing to this, they advocate and applaud assassination in the most unqualified manner. Compared with one of these prints *Die Freiheit* was gentle as an Exeter Hall tract. Were these journals allowed to be freely printed and openly circulated, as in England, they must necessarily be shorn of their appallingly criminal character. That the English method is the

wiser there can be no doubt ; because, although the Continental method may reduce the number issued to a minimum, one of these murderous sheets may reach the hands of a lunatic and inspire him to a foul deed at which nations stand aghast. Far better permit a print shorn of incitement to murder to reach a circulation of sixty thousand, than to limit the circulation to even six copies by a system which leaves the writers free to inspire the foulest deeds even in the smallest area.

In 1898 Anti-Anarchist laws were passed in France, Italy, and Spain. In France 1,500 Anarchists were "warned," and from France, Italy, and Spain, several hundreds were expelled. The majority of these have settled in London, including the well-known Enrico Malatesta—the Italian Anarchist—and are working peaceably at various trades and professions.

Since 1892 there has been nothing to record of violent Anarchism but its crimes. Philosophic Anarchism is, however, growing, and is divorcing itself more and more from the violent section. Tolstoi is its chief exponent, and his universal fame and simple, irreproachable life, has been a great factor in arousing the interest and securing the attention of broad-minded thinkers. But even a study of Tolstoi leaves one still entirely unable to see anything practical in the Anarchistic ideal. Its approved methods are apparently the non-resistance of evil, and the culture of what may



ELISEE RÉCLUS.
Anarchist and Geographer.

To face page 38.

be almost termed individual sanctity. Such ethereal notions, if sincerely held by the members of a community living apart, might possibly ensure a beatific, if dull, existence ; but it would be a species of social suicide to adopt them as the sole rules of life in the ordinary work-a-day world.

CHAPTER IV

A KING AMONG THE ANARCHISTS

THE late King Humbert, who, strange to say, always had a presentiment of his violent end, and is credited with the saying that guards were powerless to save him from it, had on several occasions met and been on friendly terms with members of the violent section of Anarchists when sojourning *incognito* in London.

His Majesty spoke English perfectly and was in the habit of appearing in London in the *rôle* of Haroun al Raschid far more frequently than is imagined, or even than the authorities knew of. For one whose life had been so frequently threatened, and who had a presentiment of his coming doom, he had an amazing disregard of danger, and what seemed to be a keen love for the excitement of risk.

It was his delight to roam at will in all parts of our great Metropolis, dressed as an artisan, a disguise which lent itself well to his sturdy thick-set figure and rugged features. In these excursions he was usually accompanied by an Irish gentleman who was at that

A King among the Anarchists 41

time attached to the Turkish Embassy. His guide was well-known in Fleet Street, and knew his London well. With his assistance King Humbert was able to gratify to the full his bent for exploring new and strange scenes.

The two visited some of the strangest places to which a king has ever been introduced, and it is beyond question that a deep and earnest sympathy with humanity inspired King Humbert to make the acquaintance at close quarters of the life of those in the very lowest strata of the social scale.

On one occasion King Humbert, attired in a ragged blue serge suit, bowler hat, nondescript shirt, and dirty white neckerchief, slept in a doss-house in Flower and Dean Street, Whitechapel, one of the meanest of London's mean streets, which acquired such unenviable notoriety as being the scene of one of the horrible crimes of "Jack the Ripper." His guide tried to dissuade him from the adventure, but without success, and much against his will was bound to share to the full the insalubrious experience of Italy's king.

King Humbert, on such occasions at any rate, was nothing if not thorough, and in the morning he ordered for himself and friend the regulation doss-house breakfast, to wit—a ha'porth of bread, ha'porth of butter, a ha'porth of tea and sugar, and two ha'penny herrings.

"God help these poor people," said the monarch

Anarchy

feelingly when he left. "No wonder the conditions they live under drives them sometimes to desperation."

Many similar places were visited, but it was impossible to appease his curiosity without a visit to the Anarchist Clubs. His guide did his utmost to dissuade him from this alarming purpose. Knowing little of Anarchists or their ways he did not know the extent of the risk incurred, and was unwilling to incur personal responsibility in the matter. The King, however, would have his way.

As already explained, Anarchists recognize no organization, and their clubs are not in any sense close corporations. Any one who will may enter them, or their meeting places. There is no door-keeper to bar the way, no ticket issued to confer a right of admission. In their clubs, at all events, Anarchists are consistent, for they have no government, and no organization. To have a committee who could lay down rules which must be observed by the other members would be a species of tyranny. They will have none of it.

King Humbert, with his Irish guide, visited the Club Autonomie on a Sunday evening, and listened to several of the comrades advocating the uprooting of governments, and the hastening on of the millennium of chaos. Here he was introduced to and shook hands with Louise Michel, with whom he had a long, interested, and animated conversation. Little did the "Red

Virgin ” of the Paris Commune suspect that the intelligent English artisan with whom she was conversing was Humbert, King of Italy, whom several of her comrades had from time to time threatened to “ remove.”

His experience of the Club Autonomie was uninteresting save for the meeting with Louise Michel, but his visit to the Anarchist Club in the Kingsland Road was exciting enough. While he was present, a “ comrade ” of the extremist type made a violent speech, advocating the removal of all the crowned heads of Europe, and of his own in particular.

King Humbert was hailed by the assembled Anarchists as a new “ comrade,” and as a souvenir of his visit and enthusiasm for the cause he was presented with a cartoon. This was a crude drawing depicting Anarchy freeing the workers, by blowing all the reigning monarchs and presidents in office throughout the world into space.

The artist himself made the presentation, and in handing the King the sheet, he said, pointing to what was intended for the head of the King of Italy detached from the body and flying like a cannon-ball towards the heavens :—“ How like *you* are to that fellow ! ”

The King, with admirable *sang froid*, admitted the resemblance, and soon after left the club with his Irish guide and the Anarchist artist. They repaired to the Angel Hotel, where Humbert, as though to the

manner born, called and paid for drinks, although he failed to re-echo the artist's toast, "Vive l'Anarchie!"

Only once in these adventures in places where he was bound to meet many of his sworn enemies, and so stood a considerable risk of being recognized, did this odds-on chance happen. This was at the Holborn Branch of the Irish National League. Here, however, no greater unpleasantness could possibly result beyond the disclosure of the King's identity, which would, no doubt, have been seized on by the representatives of the more sensational newspapers as an excellent subject for "copy." There was, however, no risk of violence, as Anarchy has never appealed to the Irish temperament.

His Irish guide had obtained tickets for the supper and introduced the King as his guest. The intention was to permit His Majesty to remain in the position of a passive spectator but this simple plan was almost wrecked at the outset, for, on entering the room, the royal visitor was instantly recognized by the president, Mr. Fahy, who had served in the Italian Guards, and who instinctively rose to salute him. The King, however, with considerable presence of mind, stepped forward instantly and reducing the courtesy to that usual between ordinary acquaintances, explained the position rapidly in Italian and begged Mr. Fahy to preserve his *incognito*.

This request was, of course, strictly complied with,

and the King enjoyed himself at the subsequent typically Irish repast of pig's head, cabbage, and potatoes. Mr. Fahy, however, contrived, within the required limits, to pay the royal guest a delicate compliment, for, at his request, Mr. John Sullivan, the well-known Irish tenor, sang some popular operatic arias in Italian.

The adventures of King Humbert have, perhaps, no special bearing on the subject of this volume excepting in so far as they exhibit the very natural human trait—common, no doubt, to all reigning monarchs—of a desire to see at close quarters those incomprehensible persons who are inspired with a consuming and unappeasable hatred against them. In the hands of a writer of fiction, the incident would, no doubt, have assumed a different form. King Humbert obviously lost an opportunity dear to the hearts of those who love a “situation.” As a “comrade” he should have chosen the opportunity of uttering the persuasive, if not the soft word, which would turn away the wrath of the Anarchists from him and his kind. It was not his purpose, however, to provide sensational novelists with ready-made material. He wished to meet the Anarchists, without inviting them to meet him. He achieved his purpose, and probably stood face to face with the miscreant who afterwards encompassed his death.

CHAPTER V

ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARIES—PLOT TO FOUND A
REPUBLIC

I HAVE already pointed out that Anarchism never obtained any real foothold in England, but this statement must be qualified. Avowed Anarchism received no recognition, but measures and even crimes were advocated which can only be differentiated from the excesses of Anarchism by special pleading, and Utopian schemes of government were propounded and even aimed at which were as senseless as any put forward by Anarchists before or since.

It is undeniable that a very deep-seated spirit of discontent was very widespread during the eighties, and that this was fostered by agitators—who saw no other road to profit and prominence at the time—and rendered dangerous by unbridled language in the highest degree reprehensible. The English extremists advocated what they termed the Social Revolution, and at street corners, in public places, and elsewhere, when a crowd of working men and loafers could be

mustered, they were invariably asked to give "three cheers for the Social Revolution," and it must be admitted that they responded in greater numbers and greater enthusiasm as this dangerous movement progressed.

To understand the serious nature of this industrious preaching of the "gospel of discontent," it must be borne in mind that it gained its hold on English workers at a period when those who afterwards became the Irish Invincibles, and the Clan-na-Gael, were making their power and presence felt by a series of outrages as diabolical as any that lie to the discredit of Anarchism, and that the agents of these enemies of the constitution were on an intimate and friendly footing with the leading advocates of the English Social Revolution.

Nor can it be denied that the latter were at no pains to disavow their diabolical *entente cordiale*, or to express detestation of the awful methods employed by these Irish-American scoundrels. One instance of this will be sufficient.

Mr. John Burns, then, as now, a prominent figure, in a speech widely reported at the time spoke of the probable necessity of "despatching capitalists to Heaven by chemical parcels post," and declared that under certain conditions he was willing to assist in the task of "greasing the wheels of revolution."

Mr. Burns, now a right honourable Member of the Liberal Cabinet, has, I presume, long since discarded

these views and disavowed his associates of that day, which is satisfactory ; it would be still more satisfactory if we could feel sure that the harm he then did ended with his own reformation.

It will come as a surprise, if not a shock to most people, to learn that violent utterances of this character, and rowdy cheering for the Social Revolution went hand in hand with a secret conspiracy, carefully prepared and planned, for the establishment of a Social Democratic Republic, which was to be inaugurated by the seizure of the person of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, which was to be held as a hostage, and by the simultaneous seizure of the Tower of London and the Woolwich Arsenal.

It will be well before giving details of this seditious conspiracy, in which many who are now in prominent positions took part, to give a brief sketch of the various sections of the advanced Political Movement of the time.

From the wreck of the Workmen's International Association founded by Karl Marx a new organization was founded in 1882 by William Morris, with whom were associated Dr. Aveling, H. M. Hyndman, G. B. Shaw, Herbert Burrows, Walter Crane, Hubert Bland, Lee, Quelch, and others. The notion of this was to bring Workmen's Clubs, Radical Associations, and Trade Unions into line for the advocacy of the Marxian ideal of Socialism, the main object of which is to bring

about the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

William Morris, as a man of the highest character and attainments, has given a delightful picture of the ideal society he aimed at in his well-known book, "News from Nowhere," which he wrote as a counter-blast to Bellamy's "Looking Backward." So far as he could, individually, he inculcated the simple life, and inspired the love of handicraft on the lines of utility and artistic beauty. Machinery was, to his view, a danger to the community and essentially vulgar. Great cities he regarded as inimical to the happiness and comfort of populations. In his "News from Nowhere" he pictures England in that future period when his views shall have been generally adopted, and when the happy people of this (then) happy country will recall with a shudder the fact that "there *was* a place called Manchester."

Morris was a great and true poet, as well as a lover of humanity, and no one can read his book without feeling the greatest sympathy with the views he advanced, which, if visionary, were at all events noble and charitable. How entirely impractical they are for general adoption the experience of the Democratic League itself conclusively proves. The disciples who were in earnest and had no axes to grind—and they were very few—drifted from the simple and harmless Communism he advocated into Anarchism; the

ambitious "practical" section broke away and founded the Social Democratic Federation.

Morris and his remaining disciples decided to confine themselves to the spreading of principles, and with this intention founded a new society called the Socialist League, which has the admirable record of having made no history.

The original founders of the Social Democratic Federation were Hyndman, Champion, "Jack" Williams, Crane, Burrows, Bland, Shaw, Mann, Quelch, and Lee. Burns joined later. The "S.D.F.," as it is generally called, was not very long in existence when Burns, Champion, and Mann seceded, accusing their late colleagues of bad faith and other offences. Indeed, the authorities, seeing how well these people loved one another, might well be excused for the adoption of a policy of *laissez faire*.

The three seceders, who were ardent exponents of the policy of political action modelled on the methods adopted by Parnell, formed a new organization, which proved a thorn in the side of the Liberal party, called the Labour Electoral Association, and founded an organ called the "Labour Elector." The new organization had the command of what appeared to be unlimited funds, and they inaugurated those triangular contests which in those days, Liberals bitterly complained, were got up solely in the interests of Tory candidates.

While working-class discontent was being fermented by these various bodies, Irish extremists of the Clan-na-Gael and Invincible type were making their presence felt by a series of horrible outrages, and by the planning of many others which either failed in the design or were happily frustrated. The "chemical parcels post" was not the only means devised and adopted by these callous ruffians, and while it would be untrue to say that the *entente* between them and our own revolutionists included at any time active co-operation, it is beyond doubt that their English sympathisers were to a large extent privy to their abominable designs, and must be held as culpable of heinous offence in not having done their utmost to check and thwart them.

Among the contemplated outrages which were frustrated in the early eighties was a plan to assassinate the Members of Parliament during a sitting of the House of Commons, in which so many were deputed to take part, and which was conceived altogether on so large a scale that it is quite inconceivable that no knowledge of it was shared by the English extremists. As a matter of fact it was so impossible to confine all knowledge of a plot conceived on so large a scale to those taking part in it, that it reached the ears of Parnell to whose immediate action, and unqualified opposition, is due the frustration of a design so cleverly planned, that it is certain it must, but for him, have

resulted in the perpetration of one of the most hideous crimes in the history of the world.

This plot may be briefly outlined. On an arranged evening while the House was sitting some two hundred miscreants were to gather in the neighbourhood of the Westminster Bridge Station of the Underground Railway. When a certain train was due they were to enter the station and "overpower" the small railway staff. Two signalmen were in their pay who would then block the lines. The passengers would be told that an accident had occurred on the line, and would, of course, leave the train. When they had left the station the doors would be closed, and then all would be in order for the crowning outrage. Between the station and the House is a subterranean passage for the use of Members, and along this the miscreants, fully armed, would hurry, accomplish their awful design, and then returning to the station enter the train, which would at once proceed on its way, the lines being cleared.

It is useless to discuss what possible object the miscreants imagined could be served by such an awful project beyond their insensate love of slaughter, and their mad desire to "strike terror" into the "hearts of the bourgeoisie"; but it is appalling to bear in mind that men who harboured such ideas and openly advocated them in a general way, were cordially received in English Revolutionary circles.

If English Revolutionists never contemplated such utterly aimless crimes, their proposed means of establishing the Social Democratic Republic, which was fully discussed, detailed and agreed to, will seem scarcely less reprehensible to most people.

The year 1888 was fixed on by a few enthusiasts for the *coup d'état*. So successful had the agitators been with their organizations, and in eliciting cheers for the Social Revolution from the various gatherings they addressed, that they felt quite certain of a general rising of workmen in their support when the banner of Revolution was raised aloft. That they were not without some warrant for relying on a certain amount of revolutionary spirit and daring in "the masses," was evidenced by the West End riots and by the Great Dock Strike, the success of which, owing to its enlistment of West End sympathy, put an end to the danger to be apprehended from the revolutionary spirit by opening up to the leading spirits new vistas more gratifying to their ambition.

These visionaries conceived the wild idea that it was possible for the Revolutionists to seize the Queen as a hostage, and simultaneously capture Woolwich Arsenal and the Tower. Arrangements had also been made for blowing up the principal lines of railway, so as to isolate London, and this was held to be a necessary and vital step, although the conspirators were aware that isolation also meant a risk of starvation.

Anarchy

The Provisional Government of this precious Republic were actually appointed. A member of the Stock Exchange—presumably on account of his acquaintance with the devious methods of finance—was appointed Director of the State Railways ; an ex-Artillery officer was to be general of the national army ; and another member was to be the Postmaster General, apparently because he was a foreigner and spoke very little English. It may be as well not to give further details of this visionary Cabinet, as so many of its members and active supporters have now joined the ranks of that bourgeoisie they were accustomed to denounce, and it can serve no useful purpose to disturb their present serenity by reviving those embers of a past faith and a hopeless ambition ; but it is interesting to indicate the lines on which it was intended to make the Social Democratic Republic take its place among the governments of the world.

When the tall order of the holding of the Queen as a hostage, and the seizure of the Tower and the Arsenal had been duly executed, the already appointed Provisional Government would at once take charge of public affairs. A proclamation—which had been carefully drawn up, but the text of which I have been unable to obtain—would be issued forthwith to the world, announcing that the Social Democratic Republic of Great Britain and Ireland had commenced business and were prepared to establish friendly relations with

foreign states. The Republic would be financed by paper assignats or labour notes somewhat on the lines of Prudhon's visionary scheme, and as soon as possible an election on the basis of universal adult suffrage would return a House of Representatives, who would in turn elect a President of the Republic.

Apparently sane and intellectual individuals had the fullest faith in this amazing conspiracy, and it is beyond doubt that but for the circumstances which culminated in the all-absorbing Dock Strike an attempt would have been made to put it into execution. Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor, and other representatives of "the classes," who entered so heartily and sympathetically into the consideration of the genuine grievances underlying the Dock Strike, did a far greater public service than they aimed at or suspected; they not only tamed the Revolutionary agitator and set him to sharpen his axe on new grindstones, but they unconsciously deprived him of his occupation by disproving his mendacious and interested misrepresentations. The working-classes saw for themselves that sympathy and justice were to be looked for even from the classes. The Prince of Wales—whose heritage of the Throne was to have been stolen—entered heartily into the work of the Mansion House Committee, and became extremely popular with the very men who had not long before been shouting for the Social Revolution. The victory of the Dockers was

won for them by the sympathetic interposition of the classes, and from that moment the task of cheering for the Social Revolution became the harmless pastime of the few who fraternise with the aliens who, assembling in their half-dozens, shout "Vive l'Anarchie" apparently to amuse the London street gamins and loafers.

The would-be Socialist Republican became a "Constructive Revolutionist," and to-day it is not impossible to find him in a high and influential position claiming that he has not changed an iota of his early views, and is now enabled to carry out the most practical of them by methods which at that time were out of reach.

The Labour Electoral Association did not long outlive its triumph in connection with the Dock Strike. Its most prominent leader, Mr. John Burns, soon became a member of the London County Council, and entered on that temperate course which has led to his inclusion in a Liberal Cabinet at the very time, strangely enough, when a distinct Labour Party first appeared in the House of Commons.

The Labour Electoral Association was undoubtedly the pioneer of the movement which resulted in the formation of the Independent Labour Party, whose principles are in the main held by the Labour Wing in Parliament. Out of its ashes the party headed by Mr. Keir Hardie arose, just as out of the old

International Workmen's Association, the Social Democratic Federation *via* the Democratic League, was founded.

After the Dock Strike the Labour Electoral Association experienced the fate which overtook the various organizations with which Mr. Burns was connected—disintegration through dissension. H. H. Champion, at once the most intelligent, informed, and sincere adherent of the advanced movement, had the disadvantage of being a gentleman by birth, environment, and instinct. While Burns beat the big drum in the Dock Strike, and advertised his straw hat as persistently as R. G. Knowles sticks to his white trousers, Champion worked as ten men in the less theatrical sphere of organization, and laid in his somewhat delicate constitution the seeds of that physical ruin which afterwards sent him a broken and disillusioned man into exile in Australia.

The foregoing will be sufficient to show that while, happily, Anarchism in England has been at all times an exotic, it is not very long since we narrowly escaped a sort of a Revolutionary madness between which and Anarchism there would have been but little to choose. With the presence of a Labour Party in Parliament, and the visionary enthusiasts, and calculating agitators of the eighties comfortably placed, the safety valve is fully open, and—let “Jack” Williams, the late colleague of Mr. John Burns, rave as he will—the desire

to found a Social Revolution, such as was dreamed of and conspired for at that period, will never bring much of a multitude into our streets, parks, or squares ; and such gatherings as it will attract will be one-third composed of poor homeless wretches from the Embankment benches, and two-thirds aliens.

How John must look on at Jack, congratulate himself—and smile !

CHAPTER VI

ANARCHIST CLUBS IN LONDON

THE success of the Dockers' Strike was for a long time the stock illustration of Anarchists to prove the possibility of a Revolution. Here was, they argued, a population in revolt without prior organization, without militarism, without leadership. In spite of the commanding attention secured by Mr. John Burns as the acknowledged leader of the strike, there was much truth in the Anarchist view, as the workers had broken out into revolt without a leader, and Mr. Burns assumed the leadership rather than had it offered to him. Anarchists complained that a golden opportunity was lost by the dockers, who might as easily have established a commune, as a trade union system. The failure of the strike from their point of view was that it was subordinated to political ends, and was used to carry into effect petty political ideals.

There was at the time a very widespread discontent among the workers. Unrest became infectious and spread. Classes widely divergent discovered a bond of

sympathy in sharing this feeling of unrest, and the dockers' triumph raised the desire to strike into a sort of craze among all sections of workers. Following on the Dock Strike, dissatisfaction became very pronounced in the Post Office, and the complete dislocation of the Postal Service was very narrowly averted. Agitation became a profession, and imitators of Burns and Champion sprang up in all directions, fostering the discontent of the workers and inciting them to strike. A Mr. J. Mahon was the accepted leader of the Postmen's Revolt, and although Burns and Champion, fresh from their victory at the Docks, offered to lead the Postmen's Revolt if Mahon were deposed, the postmen declined their proffered services on such terms.

Time brings about many curious changes, but surely few are stranger than the spectacle of a Cabinet Minister of to-day who, not many years previously, was willing to head a strike agitation in one of the most important of the Government departments.

Except, however, for this widespread spirit of unrest, which found expression in a series of strikes, the movement in favour of a Social Revolution was dead. Its memory was preserved by a small band of fanatical enthusiasts who spent their time mainly in deploring the lost opportunity of the Dock Strike rather than in the hopeless dream of rectifying what they regarded as that fatal mistake. These hot-headed enthusiasts

found the Marxian theories too tame for them, and formed themselves into an avowed Anarchist group, based more on the Bakunine principles than on those of Prudhon.

This little group of English Anarchists were mostly members of trade unions, but small as they were in number they included not a few police spies, and, it was rumoured, *agents provocateurs*. Certain it was that Inspector Melville was a frequent visitor, as also was the late Inspector McIntyre. Those two officers were so well-known to Anarchists generally that it was only at the Sunday evening lectures when numbers of strangers were present that they took the trouble to disguise themselves. The attitude of the Anarchists to their official enemies might be likened to the relations which subsist between a trainer and caged lions. Friendliness it could scarcely be called, and the armed neutrality on either side might at any moment be broken down.

The headquarters of the English Anarchists was the old Club Autonomie, and this was also the resort of all foreign Anarchists, including some of the most dangerous miscreants of recent years. In point of fanatical vapourings English Anarchists outdid their foreign comrades, and in doing so proved the wisdom of English police tolerance, for English Anarchy confined its violence to the speeches of its members.

Louise Michel, who in her later years deprecated

Anarchy

violence, was a frequent lecturer at the Autonomie. Her most constant companion was a Frenchman named Coulon, who had taken part in the Paris Commune. It illustrates the general distrust and suspicion among Anarchists that even the friendship of Louise Michel did not save Coulon from being suspected as a spy.

The leading English Anarchists in the late Eighties were Charles Mowbray, a member of the Tailors' Union ; Fred Charles, a coffee-house keeper, and brother-in-law to a member of the L.C.C. ; Miss Edith Lupton ; John Turner, of the Shop Assistants' Union, a familiar figure at Trades Union Congresses ; David Nichol, a journalist and crank ; and a little shoemaker named Charles Smith.

Miss Edith Lupton could hardly be regarded as a forerunner of Miss Billington, for although she demanded complete equality as regards the rights and privileges of women, she would not waste her time in demanding the right to vote, for acquiescence in all forms of government, parliamentary or municipal, was to her the abomination of desolation.

David Nichol was imprisoned for publishing a statement that the Walsall plot, in connection with which Charles and four others received a long term of penal servitude, was concocted by the police, and for inciting the murder of Mr. Justice Hawkins, the late Baron Brampton.

Smith, the shoemaker, was a poor speaker, but having an excellent voice he was in great request to sing *La Carmagnole* and other revolutionary ditties. Sad to state, he later on became an organizer for the Liberal Party.

The Club *Autonomie* was a very dingy, badly furnished, ramshackle place. A few rough benches, chairs, and tables was the only accommodation afforded to the regular frequenters or the casual visitor. Any one could enter unquestioned, and take part in the discussions.

At Anarchist meetings there is of course no chairman or president. To adopt any such conventional method would be to acknowledge a form of government, which would of course be in flat contradiction to Anarchism. Any one could speak when and how he pleased, so long as he received the approbation of the meeting. Generally speaking, the meetings were very orderly. Anarchy in the popular sense generally reigned supreme when some Anarchist outrage had been committed abroad. Then the tongues of Anarchist fanatics were unloosed. Governments and capitalists were held up to odium as the world's criminals, while the comrade who had distinguished himself by some fiendish assassination was extolled as a hero. On such occasions the half-mad speakers would work themselves up into a frenzy and express their intention of following the hero's example. If one half the threats which had made the dingy rafters of the *Autonomie* resound in these old days had

been meant, few rulers or millionaires would have been left to end their days in peace.

Apart from its dinginess, the Autonomie had a certain amount of Bohemian picturesqueness. Most of the men affected sombrero hats and red neckties ; the women usually cut their hair short, wore Trilby hats, short, shabby skirts, red rosettes in mannish coats, and stout, business-like boots.

Several smaller clubs in the neighbourhood styled themselves Anarchist Clubs, but the ruffians who made these places their haunts called themselves Anarchists only to hide their criminal pursuits. Many of these utterly unprincipled scoundrels associated themselves with the Autonomie, and the English Anarchists made a determined attempt to dissociate themselves from these foreign souteneurs and bullies.

This led to a serious dissension among the genuine Anarchists. The more fanatical defended the souteneurs on the ground that they must be acceptable comrades because they were so disliked by the bourgeoisie. The English Anarchists would not, however, take this view, and in the end they seceded. Too few in numbers to found a new Anarchist Club, they gradually dropped out of Anarchism altogether, and contented themselves by occasionally breaking up Socialist and trade union meetings, and by abusing the leaders of the various working-class movements.

There are numerous so-called Anarchist Clubs amongst the foreign Jews in the East End. Most of the members being Russians are Communists rather than Anarchists, although they prefer the latter title, probably because they think it sounds more terrifying.

The Russian "Anarchists" have a clear and logical propaganda. They by no means despise forms of government. On the contrary, to Parish Councils and Municipalities they look with hopefulness as offering the means of carrying out their ideals. If the Russian Anarchist ideal is carried out associations of cultivators would own the land and associations of workers the capital and machinery. Such a programme, if visionary, is at least sane and harmless. Outrages in Russia they regard as an inevitable outcome of an insupportable system; but in principle they condemn all forms of violence.

There are five Anarchist Clubs in the East End, the chief of which, in the Kingsland Road, has a membership of more than a thousand. It is run largely on the lines of the old *Autonomie*. All the Anarchist papers published on the Continent may be purchased there, and like all similar clubs it is largely patronised by detectives.

The lectures and debates are usually in Yiddish. The Jewish Anarchists are without exception Free Thinkers, and they are a source of continual annoyance to the orthodox members of their race. They most

studiously devise every possible means of disturbing the religious feasts and fasts of the orthodox Jews, but apart from this reprehensible means of amusing themselves they give very little trouble to their neighbours or the police.

The presence of police spies in Anarchist Clubs sometimes leads to lively scenes. At a German Anarchist Club, which was held at 57, Charlotte Street, W., a man named Werner was suspected of being a police spy. This was at a time just previous to the assassination of the Empress of Austria, when one of the periodic impulses towards violence was evident in Anarchist circles. Werner was suddenly attacked in the club and was nearly kicked to death. He escaped with his life by risking it, for he jumped out of the first floor window. The *News Leben*, on August 13th, 1898, published his portrait as that of a police spy, warning all "comrades" in Europe and America to beware of him. The same issue also contained portraits of Inspectors Melville and Bush. In consequence of the savage assault on Werner the club was closed by the police, but another was started almost immediately in Tottenham Street.

Anarchism is a disease of poverty, repression, and injustice. Aliens who are avowed Anarchists on landing in England only continue their profession of this chaotic belief while they are in their penniless condition. The great majority of them are accustomed to a far

lower standard of living than the British workman, and even on a small pittance they manage to accumulate a little hoard of savings. From this moment they think less and less of Anarchism, eventually drop it altogether, and settle down into law-abiding, money-grubbing citizens.

CHAPTER VII

MOB MONDAY

MONDAY, February 8th, 1888, has not got its place in the calendar of historical events under a particular title, but it might very aptly and truly be known as Mob Monday. It was a typical February day ; raw, cold, and foggy, and the event which culminated in a series of grave riots, which might easily have developed into even more serious offences, commenced in a manner which called forth numerous expressions of sympathy from the onlookers of various classes.

The problem of the Unemployed had forced itself on the attention even of the most thoughtless, and the association of the idea of hunger with lack of employment caused the spectacle of thousands of men, who were, or were alleged to be, honest unemployed workers, pouring into Trafalgar Square was a pitiable spectacle. It needed no particular study of Political Economy ; no intimate acquaintance with the simple annals of the poor ; to look beyond the spectacle they presented to their grim and cheerless homes, where women and children were huddled, ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed.

Such the spectacle, and such the thoughts, which the earlier assembling in the Square presented and inspired ; but even in the minds of the least critical there must have been the after feeling that the misery was to an extent theatrical, and that ulterior motives were not absent from the minds of those who utilized that great gathering for the purpose of promulgating their views and of foisting themselves into prominence as the representatives of that terror which can so easily be inspired by the threat of a recourse to force, backed by thousands of angry and desperate men.

The gathering was summoned by the London United Workmen's Association, headed by men whom Mr. John Burns afterwards described as " four of the most infamous scoundrels that ever wore boot-leather in the streets of London." These men, Messrs. Kelly, Peters, Kenny, and Lemon, no doubt had no higher opinion of Mr. Burns than he had of them, and probably dissapproved in all sincerity of the methods he advocated for relieving the distress of those who were gathered in the Square.

Kelly and his confreres advocated Fair Trade, and as the remedies they proposed were practically those of the Tariff Reformers of to-day, it must in fairness be held that they have been largely justified by the change in public opinion in regard to a Protection Policy. On the other hand, it can hardly be claimed

that the methods advocated in Trafalgar Square by the John Burns of 1888 are such as the President of the Local Government Board in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government would be likely to recommend. If Kelly and his confreres were alive to-day they would unquestionably be ardent Tariff Reformers, and would therefore present a consistency which could only be paralleled in extent by the inconsistency of Mr. Burns' present position and the mischievous and dangerous one he occupied as "the Man with the Red Flag"—the sobriquet by which he was known—the significance of which I will presently explain.

The whole circumstances of this famous gathering tended to riot. The Fair Traders—these pioneers of the modern Tariff Reformers—convened a meeting of the Unemployed in Trafalgar Square, the proceedings being announced to commence at 3 p.m. Two resolutions were advertised as the objects of the meeting; one in favour of the exclusion of destitute aliens, and the other in favour of Fair Trade. One would think that Mr. Burns and others who regarded such measures as objectionable and injurious, but were at the same time desirous of preserving the public peace, would ignore the meeting, or else organize a counter-demonstration in Hyde Park. The Social Democratic Federation instead of adopting either of these alternatives chose to organize a counter-demonstration in the Square. Any one at all conversant with the

temper of crowds must have known that the disorder which resulted was inevitable.

As early as noon the Square was filled by some thousands of men. A large proportion of these were members of, or sympathisers with, the Social Democratic Federation. The Socialist League had also lent its support to the counter-demonstration, and was represented by Mr. Halliday Sparling, who afterwards became Wm. Morris's son-in-law. The Socialists had arranged to march in contingents from various parts of London, and altogether it was fairly well-known that the right of Free Speech would hardly be extended to the Fair Traders if they had the temerity to carry out their intention of holding their advertised meeting. In a word, the scene, so carefully organized, presented one of the most disgraceful pictures of political hooliganism that London has ever experienced.

Three wooden platforms were erected at the base of the Nelson Column for the use of the Fair Traders, and at 2 p.m. a contingent of 500 policemen arrived, the serious and threatening nature of the gathering having been reported to the authorities.

Surrounded by a large contingent of cheering and jeering Socialists, Mr. John Burns made a theatrically effective entrance to the Square carrying a small red flag, which he used after the manner of a marshal's baton. This picturesque detail at once seized on the popular imagination so that the sobriquet of

“ the Man with the Red Flag ” was immediately conferred on him. The Socialists took up their position on the steps by the National Gallery, from which coign of vantage Mr. Burns addressed them with perfervid eloquence.

The *Daily Telegraph*, 9th February, 1888, thus summarises his speech :—

“ He was one of those out of employment. He and his friends were prepared to render any assistance towards a *bona fide* demonstration of the unemployed. They would not, however, assist a Fair Trade and sham agitation. What they desired was to have immediate steps taken to relieve the existing distress. He asked them whether they could expect justice from the Duke of Westminster or from the Railway Directors in the House of Commons. They wanted this question to be settled peacefully, if possible ; but if they could not do it peacefully *then they must of necessity resort to revolution*. The people went in masses to the French Government before the Revolution and demanded bread, but they were laughed and scoffed at, and two years afterwards the heads of the men who laughed and scoffed were on the lamp-posts. *So it might be here*. What could they expect from landlords and capitalists ? (A man in the crowd here shouted out “ Hang them ! ”) Mr. Burns opined that hanging would be too good for them, and besides it would spoil the rope.”

Other less prominent orators were addressing the crowd in various parts of the Square. By this time the huge gathering had become very disorderly, and gave many indications of a desire to riot. Some gentlemen who had casually entered the Square, desirous of listening to the speeches, were guilty of the grave offence of wearing high hats, and were consequently regarded as representing the landlords and capitalists. They were at once bonnetted, severely hustled, and a few were ducked in the fountains. The Fair Traders had ventured to commence their arranged proceedings, and ugly rushes were being made frequently towards their platforms. It must be admitted that Kelly, with more valour than discretion, did not help to smooth matters by his speech or attitude. He denounced his Socialistic opponents as being "composed of foreign refugees and Communists who wished to disgrace the working-men of England."

So threatening had the attitude of the enormous gathering become by this time that Inspector Dunlap, who was in charge of the police, appealed to Burns to keep the crowd in order as it was getting beyond his power to control them. This officer admitted subsequently that Burns rendered him every assistance in his power ; but it must be left open to criticism as to whether such speeches as were indulged in by Burns and others were conducive to the maintenance of order.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WEST-END RIOTS

WITH the Fair Trade demonstration it is unnecessary to deal further. Its subsequent proceedings interested no one, and from the moment of its inception it was merely seized on by the Socialists as an excuse for their own purposes.

The Socialists held and controlled the Square, and when the pretence of a formal opposition to the resolutions proposed by the Fair Traders was abandoned, Burns moved a distinct resolution protesting against Fair Trade as a quack nostrum, and calling for the immediate commencement of public works to relieve distress and insisting upon the shortening of the hours of labour. Mr. H. H. Champion, in seconding this, said that it was urged that the Government could not provide immediate relief. When the Lords and Commons were in danger of being blown up by dynamite they passed a Bill through both Houses in twenty-four hours. What had been done before, could be done again, for the lives of all those at Westminster were

worth nothing and less than nothing compared with this great question. Mr. "Jack" Williams declared that as no one in Parliament cared for them, they must care for themselves, and they must strike the fear of war into the hearts of their oppressors, because the fear of God did not move them. Mr. Hyndman followed in similar strain, and referred to the callousness of club loungers who cared nothing for those who were out of work and starving.

A curious interruption occurred at this juncture. Sanger's Circus, with its lengthy procession of caravan, and animals, passing at the end of the Square. The circus band was playing a well-known ditty, "Work, boys, and be contented," but "Lord George," the astute proprietor, fearing that this would not be to the taste of such a crowd, ordered the musicians to strike up the "Marseillaise."

Burns who, apparently, was the commanding personality throughout, regained the attention of the crowd by using his stentorian voice to advantage. According to the *Telegraph*, Burns predicted "that the next time the unemployed met in that place it would be to sack the bakers' shops in the West End of London. There had been too much talk, and it was time that the men of England—and there were 1,500,000 out of work—did something besides talking. The next time they met in that place it would be to take the wealth and bread of which others had robbed

them. The meeting had pledged itself to a revolutionary platform."

Sparling followed Burns, but his speech failed to attract attention, the crowd being by this time engaged in the more congenial pursuit of smashing up the platforms of the Fair Traders.

Cries of " To the West End " and " To Hyde Park " were now raised, and suddenly a number of stalwart men seized Burns and carrying him shoulder high a move was made in the direction of Pall Mall.

The procession was comparatively quiet and orderly until the Reform and Carlton Clubs were reached, when hooting became general. This was probably a protest against the inaction of both the great political parties and was, perhaps, under the circumstances pardonable. Mr. Hunter Watts mounted the palisade in front of the Reform Club and delivered a brief speech, the purport of which I have not been able to ascertain. It was greeted with derisive laughter by the members of the Club who crowded to the windows.

Outside the Carlton Club Burns, who had been released from his exalted but uncomfortable position on the shoulders of his admirers, essayed to speak, but his words were drowned in shouts from the crowd for Lord Randolph Churchill, who, however, did not make his appearance. The windows of the Carlton were also crowded by the members, but they refrained

from the derisive laughter and jeers in which the members of the Reform had indulged.

Suddenly the situation was changed by a dramatic and entirely unexpected incident. A poorly-clad, hungry-looking man, tore from his ragged breast an Egyptian war medal which he had been wearing. He forced himself in a frenzy of anger into a prominent position, and addressing the members of the Carlton who were looking at him with surprised expectancy, he shouted : —

“ We were not the scum of the country when we were fighting for bondholders in Egypt, you dogs ! ”

With the last word he flung the medal with all his might at the window, shattering the glass. It was the first missile thrown in the West End riots, and it gave the cue to all that afterwards took place.

Loud cheers greeted his speech and action, and immediately all the available stones and gravel in the street were picked up and hurled at the windows.

In St. James's Street a cart laden with bricks was seized and overturned, and in a few minutes the crowd, armed with these missiles, sacked the thoroughfare.

During this triumphant march of the London Revolutionaries every high hat within reach was smashed, and among those who suffered for wearing this offending headgear was Mr. Leonard Courtney, who had this unpleasant experience on leaving Brooks's.

The Bath Hotel and practically every other window in Piccadilly was wrecked ; but it is worthy of note as proving the exceptional character of the mob, that where jewellers' shops were looted, the gold watches and other valuables taken were used as missiles for the destruction of other windows. In a word London was invested on that day not by thieves but by well-meaning misguided men who had been incited to insane violence by those who really believed that a revolution in England was possible.

The crowd surged into Hyde Park at 4.45 p.m. That its tendency to violence was unabated was illustrated by a very unpleasant incident. A carriage in which a lady was seated was stopped. The lady was compelled to alight ; the livery was torn from her servants ; and the vehicle was wrecked. Several other carriages were treated in a similar fashion, and the police only prevented greater damage in this direction by stopping carriages at the various entrances to the park.

Burns spoke to the crowd from the base of the Achilles statue, and specially addressing the reporter of the *Daily Telegraph*, told him to inform the Government that unless all their demands were conceded there would be a revolution in the streets of London. Champion told the crowd that they could not stand against the police and the soldiers. " But this," he continued, " you can do. Many of you have friends

in the army—probably in the guards—who will be the first brought down to this park. Go and inform them how things are, so that when the day comes for taking steps in this great class struggle they will be on the side of the people.”

All the leaders deprecated the wrecking of carriages and breaking of windows and urged those present to disperse peaceably.

They left the park reluctantly, and in many places rioting was renewed. In North Audley Street considerable damage was done.

Although a considerable force of police were on duty only nine successful arrests were made, and finally, as darkness set in, the crowd melted away and was lost in the gloomy streets.

On the day after the riots Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams sought an interview with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the then President of the Local Government Board, to lay before him a statement of the grievances which had given rise to such forcible expressions of discontent.

Mr. Chamberlain's reply, dated 9th February, 1888, was as follows :—

“ Mr. Chamberlain is unable to recognize in Messrs. Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams any claim to represent the workmen at present unemployed owing to existing depression, and he must therefore decline to give them a personal interview.

Anarchy

“ Mr. Chamberlain will be ready to receive any communication in writing and give it his full attention.”

A copy of the resolution passed at the Trafalgar Square meeting was sent in answer to this communication and to this on the same date Mr. Chamberlain made the following reply :—

“ Mr. Chamberlain has received the copy of the resolution passed at a meeting in Trafalgar Square. He does not think that the remedies proposed to this meeting by the Social Democratic Federation would be effectual, and he is unable therefore to promise any support to them. At the same time he is making independent enquiries into the extent of the distress, and all applications from Local Authorities in correspondence with the Local Government Board will receive immediate attention.

“ In every case where the circumstances require it, and where they do not already possess the power, the Boards of Guardians will be at once authorised to give outdoor relief when arrangements are made for a labour test sufficient to prevent imposture. The question of public works is not one within the province of the Local Government Board.”

Meanwhile, however, the Attorney General was preparing an indictment against Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams for seditious conspiracy, and on this charge they were tried at the Central Criminal Sessions at the Old Bailey before Mr. Justice

Cave, the trial lasting from the 5th to the 10th of April, 1886. In the result the four defendants were acquitted, the jury, however, holding that in the case of Burns and Champion the speeches they delivered were reprehensible.

To-day, when Mr. Burns sits in Mr. Chamberlain's place at the Local Government Board it is especially interesting to read the speech in which he endeavoured to justify his conduct. His scarcely-veiled references to force will prove how strongly the notion of revolution at that period actuated those associated with the more advanced working-class movements. Poverty-stricken workers exist now as then, but Mr. Burns will hardly tell them to-day that they have "all to gain and nothing to lose by riot and revolution," nor would he probably threaten that the denial of the right to hold "public meetings in the open air" would "bring on a revolution of force."

It is, however, only fair to the Right Hon. Mr. Burns to point out that several of the remedies demanded by him at that period have long since been carried out; although they were regarded as so revolutionary at the time.

CHAPTER IX

THE MAN WITH THE RED FLAG

THE following is the text of the speech delivered at the Old Bailey by Mr. John Burns in the trial of the four Social Democrats for Seditious Conspiracy, heard from 5th to 10th of April, 1886, at the Central Criminal Sessions, at the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Cave ; reprinted from the verbatim notes of the Official Shorthand Reporter, and published by the Social Democratic Federation, Maiden Lane, in pamphlet form.

* * * * * * *

“ My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury : As an unemployed worker, and a Social Democrat, I am placed in a somewhat peculiar position in this case. I expected when I was of the age of 16 or 17 that, at some time of my life, I should be brought face to face with the authorities for vindicating the class to which I belong. I have from my earliest infancy been in contact with poverty of the worst possible description. I may tell you, my lord, that I went to work in a factory

at the early age of ten years, and toiled there until five months ago, when I left my workshop to stand as Parliamentary Candidate for the Western Division of Nottingham. I have done everything I could, in a peaceful manner, to call the attention of the authorities to the frightful amount of poverty and degradation existing among the working class. I have done my best as an artisan to educate my unskilled fellow-workmen, to point out to them that they should educate themselves and organize themselves in such a manner that by peaceful demands a better state of things should be brought about. Our motives have been aspersed by journalists, who are paid to traduce us. We have been charged with being notoriety-hunters, with being men anxious for our own advancement and self-interest.

“ That is not the case. Since I was 16 years of age I have done everything in my power to benefit the workers in a straightforward way. I have deprived myself, as many of my class have done, of hundreds of meals on purpose to buy books and papers to see if we could not possibly by peaceful consultation, by deliberate and calm organization, do that which I am inclined to think the middle and upper classes by their neglect, apathy and indifference, *will compel artisans to do otherwise than peacefully*. I plead ‘ Not Guilty,’ my lord, to the charge of sedition, particularly to the charge of seditious conspiracy. I plead not guilty, not

to deny the words I used on February 8th, or any other words I ever used, but simply because the language which I used on that occasion had no guilt or any sedition in it. I expressed the virtuous indignation against misery and injustice of a man who from his earliest infancy up to the present moment has struggled and worked hard to support his wife and an aged mother, both of whom would instantly repudiate me if I were to go back from one single statement that I made on February 8th. But I am here to repudiate statements made by other men. I object to being saddled with speeches such as the 'bread and lead' phrase, and the 'powder and shot' interjections made by men in the crowd at Hyde Park. I do object to words spoken and actions done—not by myself but by men whom I tried to control.

“As there has been much misapprehension in the mind of the public, I would briefly refer to the motives which prompted me to go to Trafalgar Square and to the Holborn Town Hall meeting. Misapprehension, not to say misrepresentation, exists in the minds of those gentlemen who have had charge of this prosecution. I heard that there was going to be a meeting of the starving Unemployed of London in Trafalgar Square on February 8th. I heard that this meeting was convened by four of the most infamous scoundrels that ever wore boot-leather in the streets of London—four men whose antecedents were bad, who were

prepared to trade on the misery of the poor provided their pockets were filled, who on the night after the meeting were ejected from public-houses in Flee-Street for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. I heard that these men were going to trade upon the poverty of the Unemployed and to advocate an economical fallacy, for puffing which they were paid. I reached the place at 1.30. I was recognised, as I am very well known to the workmen of London, by a large number of people who were then present. They called on me for a speech. I declined to speak, and I told them that when the fair traders arrived I would move an amendment, and that if they declined to have the amendment moved, I would hold a meeting of my own. The crowd pushed me towards the lower part of the Square, and hoisted me on to the plinth of the Nelson Monument. I then entered into a consultation with the police, I told them I had no desire to interfere with their authority, that I would use what influence I had over the crowd as a means of securing a peaceful meeting, and see that no property was damaged. Superintendent Dunlap, in the exercise of a wise discretion, allowed me to speak. I got up upon the plinth and spoke to 13,000 or 14,000 men, and I would here call attention to the fact that Superintendent Dunlap and the police frankly confessed that, prior to the balustrade meeting, what influence and control I had over the *bonâ fide* workmen was used

in protecting public property, and not exercised against the police. Superintendent Dunlap admits that I facilitated his duty on that occasion, and it is admitted by other witnesses that I did everything I could to control the turbulent element in the crowd, and so far from my language having a tendency to incite to riot and assault, it had directly the contrary effect.

“ What was the result of the first meeting at the Monument? I laid a resolution of the Social Democratic Federation before the meeting. I pointed out that a remedy could only be found by bringing pressure to bear upon Parliament and the local authorities, as I had tried to do twelve months before, when I had to walk the streets of London for seven weeks for daring to speak as to the condition of the workers. For I was boycotted by the employers then, as I have been since I came back from Nottingham, simply because I was a Social Democrat. I ask you to remember this. I ask you, can you wonder at a workman's language being strong? I am inclined to think that the day is not far distant when stronger language will have to be used than even that of the ‘ Loyalist ’ members in the House of Commons.

“ Our meeting at the Nelson Column was satisfactorily conducted. Quietness and order prevailed. After speaking, I called on several whom I recognised in the crowd, and resolutions were submitted to about 20,000 persons, for by this time the crowd had consider-

ably augmented. No damage was done. There was no conflict with the police—we avoided that, as Superintendent Dunlap admits. When the Fair Traders came, I climbed up the balustrade and acted as chairman of that second meeting. Why? All know that the Fair Traders, Messrs. Peters, Kelly, Kenny, Lemon, and others, are regarded as arrant impostors by the workmen of London, and I was desirous that there should not be a physical conflict between the Unemployed and those honest but misguided men who are the dupes of these bogus representatives. I decided upon giving them something better for their purpose than listening to the exploded nostrums of the Tory Party or of others. The day of these mercenaries, I am pleased to say, is now over. The penalty for betraying the workers, I hope, will be heavy enough to deter any man from selling their cause, as it has many times been sold. We had a remarkably good meeting; in fact, we completely stole the audience of the Fair Traders, much to the delight of the Unemployed who were there. I made a speech which Mr. Burleigh says would make about three columns in length—in fact, I almost reiterated the speech that I made on the plinth of the Nelson Monument. I pointed out the steps that were necessary for a peaceful solution of the difficulties which the industrial classes have to encounter, and which press so hardly upon the lower classes of Society—as they are falsely called. I pointed out how

the unequal incidence of taxation pressed upon the shopkeepers and others, and how the capitalists and the rich only were able to tide over the difficulties. My speech was substantially what the witnesses have said—that laws should be passed that the Government should provide work for skilled and unskilled labourers ; that the principles of Socialism recognised to-day by the State in regard to sewage farms and waterworks, railways, post-offices and telegraphs, should be further extended ; and that in so far as they were extended, it would conduce to the well-being of the community, of which the Unemployed in Trafalgar Square are a more important part than the club loungers think they are. Is it revolution to demand that the workers should be allowed to live like men ? Was it sedition for a man to ask his brothers to combine ? If so, sedition of that kind was going to be very popular in the near future.

“ The meeting passed off satisfactorily. I found that the crowd were becoming somewhat turbulent in consequence of the Fair Traders’ platforms being upset, and I thought it my duty to listen to the suggestion which was made to me from many quarters that we should proceed in procession through the West End to Hyde Park. And I would call the Attorney General’s attention to this significant fact, supported by the whole of the evidence—and that is that no damage was done by the procession from the time we left

Trafalgar Square until we reached the Carlton Club. And what *was* the initial cause of the damage being done? Probably you, gentlemen, have not been in so many demonstrations and processions as I have, but if you would consult the working classes who think on political and social subjects, and who have attended large mass meetings in Hyde Park, you would find, on investigation, that there is a class of men who make it a practice, on occasions of political demonstrations, to laugh and jeer, from their club windows, at the poverty of what they term 'the great unwashed,' to jeer at the misery their own greed has created, and yet at elections these very men crave votes of those who previously had received their sneers. The crowd were not in a temper to stand even mere laughing, and they were not disposed to respond to contemptuous jeers by a smile. And what was the result? Stone-throwing commenced. And that was the result of the stupid, ungentlemanly, criminal conduct of the Carlton Club members. I did my best to repress the stone-throwing, instead of inciting the crowd, believing, as I do, that window breaking, *except perhaps as a warning*, is useless to effect a change in our system of society, based as it is upon the robbery of labour. I did everything, as the evidence proved—as you have heard said—that was in my power to conduct the procession as peacefully as possible to Hyde Park, where it was my intention to call upon them to disperse. The

stupidity of the members of the Carlton decided otherwise. The stone-throwing continued to Hyde Park, but not consecutively. It ceased between the Carlton and the Thatched House, at the bottom of St. James's Street, and very little damage was done between those places, as by this time I was able to exercise some influence in keeping the men quiet. That part of the route is a proof that we did exercise our influence and control in a proper direction. But at the Thatched House Club the contemptuous jeering was renewed. It was more vehement than at the Carlton ; and from the Thatched House right up to St. James's Street and down Piccadilly, riot—if you define 'riot' as the breaking of windows—was supreme. I was unable to check it. The fault was not mine.

“ We proceeded thus up St. James's Street until we reached Piccadilly. Williams and I tried our best to stop the stone-throwing, and to restrain the crowd instead of inciting it. Against this system of society I frankly confess I am a rebel, because Society has outlawed me. I have protested against this state of society by which at present one and a half millions of our fellow countrymen, adult males, are starving—starving because they have not work to do. I had very strong feelings upon this matter of the Unemployed, particularly on the day in question, when we were brought face to face with men who for month after

month had trod the street in search of work, with men whom I knew were honest, whose only crime was that they let the idler enjoy that which the producer alone should have—not loafers and thieves—but the real Unemployed of our nation city. Talk about strong language ! I contend my language was mild when you consider the usage they have received, and that the patience, under severe provocation, displayed by the workers is almost slavish and cowardly.

“ We reached Hyde Park. I got on the Achilles statue and called upon the workmen to discontinue the violent outrages which had taken place, as it was not by breaking windows that an intelligent organization of Society could be brought about. The men agreed with me. *Some hot-headed ones shouted out and asked that they might be led against the soldiers.* Mr. Champion and I directed our replies in response to those suggestions. And what was the result ? The crowd at the Achilles statue quietly dispersed. And we have it upon the authority of the police themselves that although some from the meeting did go into South Audley Street, and there was rioting there, it was not due to the speeches, because the damage and rioting took place contemporaneously with our speeches at the Achilles statue. It appears that the prosecution have been strangely in want of a case, or the legal gentlemen who are connected with it have been totally at a loss for one, when they waste the

Anarchy

time of the jury in listening to a case that common sense would have dictated the rejection of.

“ Now what have we done ? We have pursued the same course for the last five years. These are remarkable defendants who stand in this box. There must be some unusual agitation to prompt one of the idle classes like Mr. Champion, a skilled artisan like myself, an unskilled labourer like Mr. Williams, and a middle-class man like Mr. Hyndman, to stand in this box for one simple cause. There must be something unusual to bring us here. We have gained nothing by this agitation ; on the contrary, we have lost what material well-being we had, and we come before you not as paid agitators, pecuniarily interested in creating riots, tumults, and disturbances, but men anxious to change the existing system of society to one in which men should receive the full value of their labour, in which Society will be regarded as something more than a few titled non-producers who take the whole of the wealth which the useful workers alone produce. We are indicted for seditious conspiracy. If it were not so serious a charge in itself, it would be enough to raise a smile. Seditious conspiracy ! Why, if there is one thing that the Whigs, Radicals, and the Tory Party accuse us of it is this—that we have brought these questions—and we are the first who have done it—into the open street ! *When we are again accused of conspiracy it will be when all open methods of securing*

redress have been tried and have failed. I can understand why the tenth count has been added to the indictment—because the jury would have to reject the nine counts unless the charge had been bolstered up against us.

“ It is not my intention to lay before this Court any more reasons for my conduct on this particular occasion ; but if you want to remove the cause of seditious speeches you must prevent us from having to hear, as we hear to-day, of hungry, poverty-stricken men who, from no fault of theirs, are compelled to be out of work, *who are fit subjects for revolutionary appeals.* If you want to remove a seditious agitation, as it is called, you must remove, not the effect, but the cause of such agitation, by bringing about in this disorganized system of society some change, as you were told by the witness Condon, who is compelled to accept starvation wages, and who cannot in his trade get work for more than five months out of the twelve. We are not responsible for the riots ; it is Society that is responsible, and instead of the Attorney General drawing up indictments against us he should be drawing up indictments against Society, which is responsible for neglecting the means at its command. I have not one single word of regret to utter for the part I have taken in this agitation. Some of the phrases that are attributed to me in the indictment are proved to have been used by other men. And if my language was strong,

the occasion demanded strong language. I say we cannot have in England, as we have to-day, five millions living on the verge of pauperism without gross discontent. I am inclined to predict that unless the Government adopt our proposals, the shadow of which they have adopted by a recent circular issued by the Local Government Board, I am inclined to think in the near future if Society does not recognise the claims of the workers to a greater share of the comforts and necessities of life, these meetings would, by hunger and starvation, be made the rule instead of being the exception. Well-fed men never revolt. *Poverty-stricken men have all to gain, and nothing to lose by riot and revolution.* There is a time, I take it—and such is the present, a time of exceptional depression—when it is necessary for men, particularly for the working classes, to speak out in strong language as to the demands of their fellows ; and I contend it would be immoral, cowardly, and criminal to the worst degree if I, having what little power I possess to interpret the wishes of my fellow-workers, were not to use every public occasion for ventilating the grievances of those who, through no fault of their own, are unable to ventilate them themselves. On February 8th a meeting was convened, and we put before the workers legitimate proposals ; and, singular to say, that meeting has had a decided effect upon the Local Government Board. Before the riots they would not admit that

there was any exceptional distress, and I am sorry to say that it seems to be characteristic of the Government and the governing classes to be influenced only by fear—at least, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain say that their Governments are not susceptible to reason or appeals unless the Hyde Park railings are pulled down, and the club windows are smashed. It shows at least that the riots had a good effect upon the Local Government Board in the direction we indicated. It is true Mr. Chamberlain denied, prior to the riots, that exceptional distress prevailed ; but about a fortnight afterwards he admitted that it was exceptional and severe, and he actually sent round a circular to the Boards of Guardians, who partially adopted our proposals, such as having unskilled labour on sewage farms. It also made the landlords and capitalists surrender to the Mansion House Fund *some of the proceeds of their past robbery* in the shape of charity. Riot it was not ; it was nothing more nor less than honest poverty knocking at the door of selfish luxury and comfort, poverty demanding that in the future every man should have the wealth created by his own labour. That meeting of February 8th called the attention of the people of Great Britain to this fact—that below the upper and middle strata of Society there were millions of people leading hard, degraded lives—men who are forced to live as they do, but who would, if possible,

work and live virtuous lives—men who through the unequal distribution of wealth are consigned to the criminal classes, and women into the enormous army of prostitutes, whom we see in the streets of our large cities. And, as an artisan, I cannot see poor, puny, little babes sucking empty breasts, and honest men walking the streets for four months at a time—I cannot hear of women of the working classes being compelled to resort to prostitution to earn a livelihood—I cannot see these things without being moved not only to strong language, *but to strong action*, if necessary. My language on this occasion was the language of a man anxious to obtain some system where, by a peaceful change, this poverty could be removed. The Social Democrats, who advocate these changes, are the true policemen and true ‘guardians of law and order,’ by preventing poverty and riot by removing the causes. And when the Attorney General says we incited to riots, I say that the social system is to blame. It prompts men to thief, and it prompts women of the working class to resort to dishonest acts, by not giving all a fair start in life, and not giving them an opportunity to get honest work. Society journals demand our imprisonment. Why? Because £11,000 worth of windows have been broken. But how about the sacred human lives that have been, and are, degraded and blighted by the present system of capitalism?

“ We have been told that our meetings had a seditious character. Well, my lord, I have been unable to hear what sedition is. I frankly confess I am inclined to think if any man is to be indicted for seditious speeches you will have to indict the 650 Members of the House of Commons. We have not done as the ‘ Loyalist ’ members have done in and out of Ireland. We have not asked the Unemployed to line the ditches with rifles to enforce their demands ; we have not suggested to the crowd, as Lord Randolph Churchill has suggested, that civil war would be the only product of giving Ireland Home Rule. On the contrary, we have gone to the Government and calmly and deliberately suggested to them matters of an economical character. We have gone with deputations to the Local Government Board, to Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. G. W. E. Russell, and Mr. Jesse Collings, and we have told them for the last three years unless they move in the direction we indicate, there would be sure to be riot and revolt in the streets of London. My predictions made twelve months ago to a Cabinet Minister have proved true. The responsibility, however, is not with us, but on those who neglect the warnings that have been given to them ; and I contend everything that we did on February 8th, and at the Holborn Town Hall was consistent with the conduct of peaceful, law-abiding citizens. I ask you, gentlemen, not to forget that the times are exceptional, that the poverty

is excessive ; all throughout the country people are suffering through no fault of their own ; and I ask the jury to recognise this fact—that what might be seditious on an ordinary occasion, is an honest man's duty when destitution exists. Here we have a disorganized mass brought together in Trafalgar Square—not called together by us, and I did my best to lead a portion of the crowd away, for one thing in order to avoid any conflict with the police. If we had not taken this crowd to Hyde Park the result would have been that the Strand would have been looted from the Grand Hotel to Ludgate Hill. That was the opinion of the police, and that was mine, too. We adopted what we thought the best course. We took the crowd as quickly as possible to Hyde Park. We asked the crowd to disperse, and they did. The Prosecution, instead of indicting those who were responsible for the preservation of law and order, indict those men who at great risk to themselves stopped the thieves who were plying their trade, stopped men who were inciting others to rob men and women, and asked the crowd to protect the public property. Those are the men who are indicted for sedition—inciting to a breach of the peace. It is to be regretted, my lord, that your time has been wasted by the hearing of a case of this description. I am inclined to think that public opinion has completely changed since February 8th. A doctor cannot give one pill to five men. Why was Sir Edmund

Henderson dismissed from his post ? He had not been guilty of seditious speeches, or of seditious conduct of any kind—he has been forced to resign in consequence of the faulty police arrangements on that occasion. His dismissal exonerates us for occurrences that took place because there were no police on the route from Trafalgar Square to Hyde Park. In the opinion of the Committee who were called upon to investigate the cause of the riots, the only reason for the damage of property which took place was because there were no police from Trafalgar Square to Hyde Park. And I am inclined to think that we cannot be held responsible, the police having been held to be responsible by an important committee held upon the cause of the riots.

“ This Committee found, according to their official report, that the condition of things in Trafalgar Square was most threatening. What would it have been if, as chairman of that meeting, I had not exercised the control that I did over the large crowd that was there assembled ? We find the police were in such a disorganized state that, according to the report of the Committee, the condition of Trafalgar Square on that occasion was almost inconceivable. It was not incomprehensible to me. I recognized the turbulent nature of the crowd that I had to deal with, and I perfectly know the working class over which I have some control—perhaps in consequence of my strong voice—and I

exercised what capacity I had in the direction of making up for the disorganization of the police. Superintendent Dunlap proves that conclusively, so does the official report ; and when I heard that I was going to be prosecuted for inciting to riot I was inclined to think, as Mr. William Thompson has truly said, that this was a panic prosecution. It is a panic prosecution, my lord, and it has been conducted in a state of confusion by the gentlemen on behalf of the prosecution. Where is the evidence to support their charge, in the tenth count, of seditious conspiracy ? They have not brought a single witness to prove the meeting was held for the purpose of taking deliberate concerted action to commit a breach of the peace. The only evidence they have brought has been that of three witnesses, of whom two are descriptive reporters of the *Daily Telegraph*, which is generally known by the public as making spicy reports, and giving descriptive summaries, sometimes of things that do occur, but very often of things that do not happen. This was the evidence on which the Government rely in their prosecution. It is not necessary, or I could give you dozens of instances, and prove it distinctly, that the *Daily Telegraph* is known throughout the world as a rather lively journal, not particularly confined to facts. Of the reporters they bring, two are on the staff of that journal. The only independent witness brought to corroborate this testimony is a gentleman who makes cricket

bats for the police ; and probably on the occasion of his visit to Scotland Yard he thought he was killing two birds with one stone by acting as informer to the Crown, and getting an order for cricket bats from the police for the ensuing season.

“ Gentlemen, you cannot rely on such evidence against a plain, straightforward statement such as I have called many witnesses to confirm. Superintendent Dunlap says I was doing everything in my power to repress violence. At 2.30, the witnesses who heard me speak point out clearly that I tried to stop damage, and even at four o’clock, when the procession left the square, I exhorted the men not to damage public property, but to behave themselves as men while they proceeded through the West End. I contend, my lord, they have not adduced a single bit of evidence upon which to build up the tenth count of this indictment for seditious conspiracy. How could it be a conspiracy ? At the Holborn Town Hall, when I addressed 3,000 men there, I asked their opinion as to the course to be pursued upon the subsequent occasion. How could that be conspiracy when 3,000, including detectives and inspectors of police, are taken into your confidence ? If this is conspiracy the English language to me has lost its import and effect. They simply call four persons who testify to things done along the route from Trafalgar Square. They have not brought a single witness to prove that between Trafalgar Square

Anarchy

and the holding of the meeting our object was to cause a breach of the peace on that occasion. And I am inclined to think the gentlemen of the jury will not do other than say we are not guilty, because, unless the prosecution say we had a sinister motive, we most certainly have the right to ventilate our opinions, unless the right of Free Speech is interfered with in this case. If the Government are anxious to get rid of what they think to be dangerous and very competent critics, if they want to strike a blow at our agitation, they will not do it by putting the defendants in prison.

“ I am prepared to stand by what I said on that day. If I go to prison (as I think very doubtful) I shall serve my cause, as Mr. Champion said, as well inside a prison as out. The word prison has no particular terror for me. Through the present system of Society life has lost all its charm, and a hungry man said truly (as Isaiah said in the Holy Book) that there was a time in the history of our lives when it was better to die in prison, *or better to die fighting than to die starving. As the holy man said of old, so millions of men are thinking at the present moment ; and if the governing classes want to bring on a revolution of force, such as has been mentioned by the counsel for the prosecution, they will find it will come more speedily, and with more violence, and with more saddening consequences, if they deny to the poor men of England (who are too poor to pay for halls) the right to express their grievances and opinions*

in public meetings in the open air. Have we not shown in Hyde Park, at the Holborn Town Hall, and, since the riots, at Manchester and Glasgow before 50,000 men, that we are able to control our meetings? The meeting in Trafalgar Square was not convened by us. If it had been, no windows would have been broken or any damage done. It is true that damage was done, but it was a surprise to me that no more windows were broken and no more damage done through the streets, considering the angry, derisive jeering from the Carlton Club. The wonder is that there was not more destruction of property, and that no life was lost. *If we had given the word, not a single inmate of the Carlton Club would have been alive to-day.* We had no desire to excite tumult and riot then; we repressed the crowd as well as we could, and with the control we exercised over a large crowd of 40,000 or 50,000 people you may have some conception of what might have taken place if our influence had not been used to control those angry feelings. As the learned counsel admits, no damage was done until we reached the Carlton Club, because the incentive did not exist till the crowd came there. That is the view I have taken.

“ I have no more to say than that I thank your lordship and the jury for the courtesy and the respectful attention that you have given us, placed as we are in this singular position. But before I conclude, I should like to say that the reporters of the *Daily Telegraph*

are in themselves unreliable because one of their staff has given to a speech, which would have occupied more than three columns in length, 15 or 16 lines. How is it possible for a brief, descriptive summary to be given in 15 or 16 lines, when according to the evidence of the more accomplished journalist of the *Times* it should have occupied three columns? Therefore, it seems that phrases have been picked out and twisted and contorted to suit the ends of the Government in their prosecution. They have given no qualifying sentences. They have contorted the context, and their object has been to put before the jury five or six phrases of a condemning character, without giving the whole of the speech. In fact, they have thought the jurymen were placed in the box simply to prove that we were guilty irrespective of evidence to the contrary. They have successfully distorted that which they might have taken intact.

“What we have done has been to confine our agitation within legitimate channels. We have used what influence we had over our fellows to prevent any breaking of the law, any causing of disorder, and for that we are indicted for seditious conspiracy. I say there is no evidence to substantiate either of the two clauses, and I would ask the jury, as they are for the moment the guardians of the right of Free Speech, as they have in the present instance an opportunity of laying down either a good or bad precedent, I ask them

in the interests of justice, particularly in the interests of the great mass of poverty-stricken men and women in this country, not to allow this opportunity to pass without stigmatising by their verdict as absurd, stupid, and frivolous, the prosecution that has been brought against us by Her Majesty's Government."

CHAPTER X

ANARCHISM IN ITALY

IN no country in the world has Anarchism taken greater root than in Italy. In America it has more numerous, more wealthy, and, in a sense, more active votaries ; but in Italy the chaotic principles of Anarchism seem to assimilate with the blood and disposition of the population.

The causes of this have been explained to the writer by a well-known Italian Anarchist now resident in this country and may be summarised as follows :—

Secret societies have always flourished in Italy, especially in the south. A few generations ago before the genius of Mazzini and Garibaldi created a United Italy, the peninsula presented the spectacle of numerous states widely divergent in many respects. Some were under the despotism of Austrian rule, so abominable in its methods that women were publicly flogged for the heinous crime of cheering for a free Italy so late as 1848.

How horrified the nations of the world were at

this gross outrage is a matter within living memory, and many are still alive who remember how the infamous General Haynault, who committed this foul outrage, was dragged from his carriage, on his visit to this country in 1850, by the draymen in the employ of Barclay & Perkins and soundly thrashed.

The doings of King Bomba, of the two Calabrias, are still fresh in the minds of Italians, for it should be remembered that the Italians have long memories and nurture wrongs from generation to generation. Rome, the capital of the Papal States, was governed by Cardinals and corrupt officials in feeble imitation of France before the Revolution.

In every state the peasants and workpeople lived in a condition of the most abject poverty.

One third of the peasantry of Calabria sought shelter in hayricks and corn-stacks, being even without huts. To-day a large percentage of their grandchildren, even in free and united Italy, live in hovels to which a Kaffir kraal would in comparison appear luxurious.

To the peasant the Government appeared only as a hideous Juggernaut grinding him to death through starvation by exactions, taxations, and injustice. The only friend and protector of the abject poor was the brigand, and it is therefore not surprising that he had no respect for what was known to him as the law. Not only was the law something hideous and oppressive in his estimation, but he knew of no means by which

he could invoke its protection. His only redress was revenge, sought for according to circumstances and obtained as best he could.

With the unification of Italy brigandage on the grand scale became impossible, owing to the extension of railways and telegraphs, and in its place secret societies, mainly for protective purposes, sprang into existence in all directions.

The crimes of the feudal landlords were repressed, but this and many other reforms were effected by increased taxation, which in a poor and already overtaxed country made existent misery still more unendurable. The rapacious landlord was replaced by the exacting Government official and so far as the peasantry were concerned the change was not for the better.

With such a condition of things existent it is easy to see how readily the teachings of Anarchism were embraced. Anarchism teaches that all forms of government are unnecessary and oppressive, and with this view the Italian peasantry most heartily agree. All forms of government known to them are oppressive, and every so-called reform reaches them only in the shape of additional taxation.

The army and the navy was each an incubus draining them of every result of their labour.

The condition of things is still appalling. Slavery in the sulphur mines in Sicily is paralleled by slavery

all over the country. Children are openly sold in Calabria, the wretched parents being glad to reduce the number of mouths for the sparse amount of food at their disposal. The boys who work for the London padrones have virtually been purchased by taskmasters who are under no restraint as to the use to which they put these wretched mites beyond such as the law of England imposes should harsh treatment be exposed.

Side by side with all this the most harsh and barbarous methods are adopted by the Government on the slightest excuse. The bread riots in Milan a few years ago were not nearly so formidable as the West End Riots in London some years previously, yet the fire of the troops was turned on the people, killing them in scores. These murders, the savage sentences passed on those who were taken prisoners, taken—strangely enough—in conjunction with the wounding of the national *amour propre* by the defeat of the Italian army at Adowa, all conspired to recommend Anarchism as the one root-and-branch method of acceptable reform.

Many other things, and chief among them the Crispi financial scandals, served to make the Italian peasantry ripe for the cordial acceptance of Anarchism, for it confirmed the general distrust of conventional government methods.

The Government to the Italian peasant seems an

Anarchy

institution founded for the purpose of robbing and injuring him. It has a million eyes. It watches and guards the sea-coast, not to protect him from foreign foes but to see that he does not steal a gallon of seawater lest he might wish to evade the salt-tax.

Freedom of speech is not permitted, and so every free expression of opinion must be made in secret, and thus the absurdity of every dreamer and impractical person is stereotyped and given the chance of influencing others to believe in error. The consequence is that Italy breeds hundreds of men of the Luccheni, Breschi, and Santo type.

Such are the views of a man who was banished from Italy for holding Anarchist views ; a man who deprecates outrage and violence of every description, and whose speeches at all times have been far less open to disapproval than the speeches commonly delivered at Unemployed meetings in London.

It would seem that one of the most urgently needed reforms in Italy to obviate the dangers of Anarchism would be the full and generous concession of the right of Free Speech. Anarchists of the type of the man who communicated the foregoing views to me would do far less harm than one of the type of English agitators of our own period of unrest in the eighties.

The Rev. Father Vaughan in one of his picturesque orations bears unconscious testimony to the description of Italian misery given in this chapter. Speaking at

the opening of a Working-men's Club in the East End, on 6th July, 1906, he said : " Some people say that the working man in England is every bit as well off as the working man in Italy, but the working man in Italy with a ray of sunshine and a slice of melon can get on well enough." The Italian peasant thinks that sunshine and melon is poor sustenance, and he knows that he need not thank his Government for the sunshine.

CHAPTER XI

HOW ANARCHISM SPREAD IN AMERICA

THE Anarchist movement, it has been already stated, obtained more adherents in America than in any other quarter of the world, and in stating that this is largely due to the efforts of the Trust magnates to bring workers within their grinding clutches, so that the power of trade unionism to make any sort of a stand might be destroyed, it is scarcely necessary to do more than refer the reader to the grim account of the varying conditions of the working class given by Grandmother Majanszkiene in Chapter V. of "The Jungle":—

"The magnates first brought Irish workmen to beat down the wages of the Americans, then Germans were brought to further lower the standard, then Poles, then Russians; and so on through the offscourings of pauper Europe; wages being lowered at each experiment, and a pauper population being created at the very gates of the stockyard, clamouring for any kind of work, at any kind of price, which ensured any kind of food."

How Anarchism Spread in America 113

In Chapter XI. of Mr. Upton Sinclair's remarkable book, the system and its effect are explained :—

“ During the summer the packing houses were in full activity again, and Jurgis made more money. He did not make so much, however, as he had the previous summer, for the packers took on more hands. There were new men every week it seemed—it was a regular system, and this number they would keep over to the next slack season, so that every one would have less than ever. Sooner or later, by this plan they would have all the floating labour of Chicago trained to do their work. And how very cunning that trick was ! The men were to teach new hands who would some day come and break their strike ; and meantime they were kept so poor that they could not prepare for the trial ! ”

It was the same everywhere. The Trusts had set themselves to reduce the workers into what they conceived to be their proper place—a part of the machinery for grinding into existence the millions which enabled them to flaunt in high places, and to marry their daughters to members of the British aristocracy.

Such combines of capital were naturally met by such organization as the workers could command, and the Anarchistic leaders took the opportunity of impressing on the workers the futility of trusting to the conventional forms of government for redress. So keen was the resentment of the workers against

Anarchy

the Trust magnates, that the panaceas of Socialism to thousands of them appeared all too mild and Utopian to be of much avail, and they openly embraced the doctrines of Anarchism.

Johann Most was one of the accepted prophets of the extremists and occupied a position of first prominence at a congress which they held at Pittsburgh, in 1882. He openly advocated outrage, and recommended the shooting of policemen.

That such alarming methods should have appeared none too drastic to the thousands who at that time openly avowed themselves as Anarchists may seem strange ; but the brutality of the police was notorious, and was condoned by the authorities as being necessary to the preservation of law and order. Mr. Sinclair, writing years afterwards, when things had somewhat improved, may again be quoted to prove this point. It is the passage dealing with the arrest of Jurgis :—

“ On his way to his cell a burly policeman cursed him because he started down the wrong corridor, and then added a kick when he was not quick enough ; nevertheless Jurgis did not even lift his eyes—he had lived two years and a half in Packingtown, and he knew what the police were. It was as much as a man’s very life was worth to anger them in their inmost lair.”

Everything was ripe for the teachings of Anarchists of the type of Most. The well-to-do residents, even the “ aristocrats,” of the Southern States had ten years

How Anarchism Spread in America 115

before not disdained to band themselves in a secret society, whose aim and object was to harry and intimidate the negroes, and their few white friends, and in this noble object they did not stop short at any form of brutality and outrage.

Such incidents in history are the milestones on the bad road, and it is no wonder if the workers turned a ready ear to those who advised them to add another milestone; for they surely had as much cause for animosity against the Trust magnates and their police myrmidons, as the Southern "gentlemen" could have had against the negroes.

Increasing depression as time went on deepened Most's adherents in Anarchism. In 1885 it was computed that in the U.S.A. no fewer than 1,000,000 men were out of work, and to rectify this condition of things the Communist Anarchists adopted the "eight-hours" policy which was then being agitated for in England. With workers so greatly in excess of the amount of work available, it was felt that as it was impossible to increase the amount of work available, the only thing to do was to reduce the hours. The Anarchistic extension of the English doctrine was that this was to be enforced by a general strike, as all politicians were held to be hopelessly corrupt and beyond the reach of reasonable appeal.

The two most popular advocates of the Eight Hours' Day were named Parsons and Spies. They were both

Anarchy

men of singular ability and in England would have been ranked as labour leaders of the stamp of Burns and Hardie. If they did not openly denounce the methods advocated by Most, it is only fair to judge them by their own actions, and the only force they advocated was this recourse to a general strike. The entire absence of outrage or violence from the Anarchistic movement at this time is a convincing proof that they were the real leaders of the discontented workers, and that Most's fulminations fell on deaf ears. Their great influence is further proved by the fact that in the first week in May 30,000 men, mostly Poles, Bohemians and Germans, struck work in Chicago, and a great demonstration of sympathy with the strikers took place in New York.

So far all was peaceable ; but now came the turn of the Trust magnates who manifested themselves through the police and Pinkerton's detectives.

Strikers' meetings were broken up without any pretence of legal excuse, and with the most wanton violence. At St. Louis, five men and a woman were shot dead, and other outrages were being committed on every hand. Johann Most at an indoor meeting at Chicago attended armed with a rifle, and he openly urged the necessity of all workmen arming themselves against the police.

Still the peaceable and perfectly constitutional policy of Parsons and Spies prevailed and Most still

remained the stormy petrel of armed revolution without followers or sympathisers, and still the murderous methods of the Trust magnates through their agents the police were being mercilessly pursued.

On Monday, May 3rd, 1886, a demonstration took place outside McCormick's factory, Chicago. It is said that stones were thrown, and that there was much hooting. At any rate, the police, who never needed much excuse for zeal in the service of their masters, had their chance and fired. The result was that five men were killed, and about sixty wounded.

This culminating outrage was too much for Augustus Spies, who published in his paper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the following :—

“ A war of classes is at hand. Yesterday working-men were shot down in front of McCormick's factory where blood cries out for revenge. Who will deny that the Tigers who rule us are greedy for the blood of the working-man ? But the working-men are not sheep and will reply to the White Terror with the Red Terror. Sooner death than life in misery ! If the working-men are to be shot at, let us answer in such a way that the robbers will not soon forget it. The murderous capitalistic beasts have been made drunk by the smoking blood of our working-men. The tiger is crouching for a spring. Its eyes glare murderously. It moves its tail impatiently, and all its muscles are tense. Absolute necessity forces the cry—To arms !

Anarchy

To arms ! If you do not defend yourselves you will be torn and mutilated by the fangs of the beast. The new yoke which awaits you in case of cowardly retreat is harder and heavier than the bitter yoke of your present slavery. All the powers opposed to labour have united. They see their common interest in such days as these. All else must be subordinate to one thought. How can these wealthy robbers and their hired bands of murderers be made harmless ? . . . Whoever is a man must show it to-day. Men, to the front ! ”

All were now thoroughly roused, and it was felt that not even the most corrupt adherents of a corrupt Government would dare to countenance the continuance of such atrocities in the name of law and order. At any rate, it was determined to openly challenge a direct issue, and with this object a meeting for the purposes of advocating a “ Legal Eight Hours’ Day ” was formally summoned to be held in the Old Haymarket, Chicago, at half-past seven in the evening of May 4th, 1886.

Great excitement naturally prevailed in the city, and it is estimated that at least 20,000 persons attended this open-air meeting. The utmost order prevailed, and Spies, who opened the proceedings, was listened to with rapt attention. He was followed by Parsons, who was, it may be mentioned, the son of a confederate general. He advocated the Eight Hours’ Day on the

How Anarchism Spread in America 119

lines which were then being commonly recommended by English labour leaders.

“What was there in this demand,” he asked, “to excite the capitalists? Yet the military were under arms, and the Gatling guns located to mow them down. Was this Germany, Russia, or Spain? Whenever they made a demand for eight hours or an increase of pay the militia and the Pinkerton men were called out and they were shot, clubbed, and murdered in the streets. It behoved them to arm themselves. (Shouts of ‘We are ready now!’) They were not. As such civilization was founded on force, by force only would they obtain relief.”

Samuel Fielden followed and said the law had shot men down the previous day for attacking property.

This, however, was the end of the meeting, which now became a scene of disorder and carnage. Although the speaker had referred to force as the only certain resource, the views were taken in a purely academic sense by the immense crowd who had listened to them in a perfectly orderly manner. At the worst the speeches I have quoted could be easily matched by speeches which were then being delivered by Englishmen holding prominent positions in English politics to-day, who had never had a tithe of the reason for being inspired by the “wild justice of revenge” which animated Parsons and other friends and comrades of the men who had been murdered the preceding night.

Anarchy

Fielden's speech was interrupted by a squad of 200 policemen, who pushed their way into the midst of the meeting, bludgeoning right and left, and ordered its immediate dispersal.

Someone—the culprit has never been discovered—threw a bomb into the midst of the police, killing two, and injuring forty-six. The police immediately fired on the crowd, and a fierce fight ensued, between fifty and sixty of the demonstrators being killed, and a large number injured.

The usual authority had been obtained for the holding of the meeting, and the Mayor of Chicago in a letter to the press admitted that but for the intervention of the police the demonstration would have passed off peaceably.

Spies, Fielden, and Grotkan, although they indignantly denied all knowledge of the bomb-thrower, were arrested; and Parsons, who had remained in hiding with his wife, a cultured woman of Indian-Spanish ancestry, who is, by the by, a personal friend of Mr. John Burns, quietly surrendered on June 21st. Several others were also arrested.

The period in which these men awaited their trial was utilised by the press to work up a campaign of prejudice against them. Bogus plots were discovered everywhere, and arms planted by the police unearthed in the haunts of alleged suspects.

The trial took place in August, and although no

How Anarchism Spread in America 121

shadow of proof was adduced that any of the accused persons were in any way connected with the bomb-thrower or with his act, Spies, Parsons, and Fielden were sentenced to death, and the others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The three men sentenced to death appealed, but escape for them was hopeless ; the clumsy expedient of an alleged discovery of a bomb in the *cell of one of the prisoners* being a sufficient excuse for the Supreme Court to refuse to rob the Trusts of their prey. Parsons devoted his last days to spreading the principles of Anarchism, for he wrote an important history of Communism while awaiting death. His last moments he utilised in an endeavour to dissipate from the minds of the comrades outside the depressing effect of a humiliating execution, for on the scaffold, he sang " Annie Laurie " in a strong clear voice.

That these men were not guilty of assassination, and were, therefore, judicially murdered, there is no shadow of doubt.

The fate of Spies, Fielden, and Parsons gave an immense impetus to Anarchism and Socialism in the United States. They had said nothing that Burns, Champion, and Hyndman had not said on this side of the Atlantic ; and in England they would, no doubt, have been regarded as Socialists rather than as Anarchists. The Trust-controlled Press of the U.S.A. had, however, misrepresented their objects, aims, and actions, in

Anarchy

the interests of unfettered dollar-getting, and no doubt thousands of well-meaning Americans honestly regarded them as bloodthirsty criminal Anarchists.

Next in order in the history of American Anarchism, came the Pittsburgh Riots, when Pinkerton's men shot down unarmed workmen ; but despite all this and the anti-Anarchist laws, the movement in the States thrived and was being continually recruited by foreign emigrants.

Anarchism of the violent type has found no foothold in America, but this is not due to repressive legislation nor to police brutality. It is due largely to the influence of Bellamy's " Looking Backward," to Henry George's Single Tax agitation, and to the steady growth of Scientific Socialism.

Men like Most, and women of the type of Ella Friedmann, a prominent Anarchist, owe their prominence to the notoriety given them by the Press, which is always seeking new scares.

Children throw stones at a prominent object, and public personages will always be in danger from feeble-minded individuals nursing some vague sense of wrong, but to condemn Anarchists generally for such acts is absurd. It would be as absurd to judge Anarchism by such an act, as to assume it to be wholly good, because some Anarchists have to their credit acts of great self-abnegation and charity.



THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN,

Whose assassination was attempted by Mateo del Moral (*see page 147*).

To face page 122.

CHAPTER XII

ANARCHIST CRIMES

THE evil of Anarchism is that, in its gospel of destruction, and advocacy of personal licence under the misnomer of freedom, it attracts under its banner those who hold the very basest of impulses, and the most diabolical instincts. The hideous wickedness and criminality advocated and committed in its name I cannot give in detail in this chapter. For one reason, much of it would be utterly unfit for publication, and for another it would be inimical to the public good, as I will later on explain.

It is unnecessary to refer to the many outrages which have been committed in Russia and are usually ascribed to Anarchists ; for, as a matter of fact, there is no more connection between Russian Nihilists and Anarchists than there is between either of them and Irish Moonlighters. The only point of resemblance between the three is the similarity of their crimes.

It has been the fashion to describe Hoedel, the man who was executed in 1878 for an attempt on the life of the German Emperor, and Dr. Nobiling, who succeeded in wounding that monarch, as Anarchists ;

but it would be just as accurate to describe in a similar manner the various individuals who made attempts on the life of the late Queen Victoria.

The first real Anarchist outrage was the attempt on the life of the King of Spain at Madrid in October, 1878, by the youth Moncasi, who was an avowed disciple of Bakunine.

In the November following, a youth of 21, named Passante, emulated Moncasi by stabbing the King of Italy at Naples, but fortunately inflicted only a slight wound.

These outrages caused a perfect reign of terror throughout Spain and Italy ; and Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, and Trades Unionists alike were savagely persecuted, with the result that a widespread spirit of revenge was engendered, secret societies were formed, and outrage after outrage committed.

Men of Anarchistic views joined the brigands in Spain and Italy, and from their mountain retreats planned a guerrilla warfare against the rich, and against all in the exercise of authority.

To each of these Anarchist recruits to the ranks of the brigands might be applied Le Fanu's well-known lines :—

“ An' many a brave boy was then on his keepin'
With small share of restin', of eatin', or sleepin',
Unsheltered by night, unrested by day,
The heath for their barracks, but Revenge for their
pay.”

The effect of this exodus to the ranks of the lawless exists to this day in such formidable secret societies as "The Klafia," a society formed to protect criminals and to terrorise juries and the police ; the "Camorra," another formidable Italian secret society, and the Spanish organization called the "Mano Negra"—(the "Black Hand"). This latter is the only Anarchistic secret society which avows the holding of "Christian" principles and maintains many curious mediæval Roman Catholic superstitions.

How much this is worth may be judged by the fact that to the "Black Hand" is rightly ascribed many of the frightful outrages beside which those of the Irish Moonlighters of a generation ago pale into insignificance.

Desiring to emulate young Moncasi, a youthful Anarchist, named Otero, fired twice at the King and Queen of Spain at Madrid on December 30th, 1880, and was afterwards executed.

The Lyons Riots in 1883, which were well and carefully organized, were due to the Anarchists ; who in this instance showed that in genuine active work they must, like ordinary folk, descend to rule and method. The avowed, and no doubt the real cause, was the prevalent destitution ; and to emphasize this, the rioters specially attacked the bakers' shops and wrecked them. Sixty-six Anarchists, including the famous scientist, Prince Peter Kropotkin, were arrested,

Anarchy

and eventually sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The Prince was sentenced to five years, "to oblige the Russian Government," but after a year's confinement he was released. He came immediately to England, where he has resided ever since.

The next Anarchist to distinguish himself by outrage was a German, named Reinsdorf, who was executed with two "comrades" for causing an explosion in the police barracks at Frankfurt-on-Maine. The crime is only noticeable in the fact that it inaugurated the idea of Anarchistic revenge. The Police Commissioner, who was instrumental in bringing them to the gallows, was assassinated by an unknown person on the steps of his house a little while later.

Amongst the worst crimes of Anarchism is its appalling literature. The tracts, pamphlets, etc., which have been widely distributed in France, Italy, Spain, and even in England, are of inconceivable wickedness, advocating crimes of the most varied and most horrible description. These naturally appealed to criminals of every type, so that Anarchism was soon reinforced by coiners, burglars, and worse miscreants.

A man named Clement Duval was sentenced to imprisonment for life in Paris, in 1887, for burglary, incendiarism, and armed resistance to the police. At his trial he asserted that he had acted "on principle."

This precious plea was thus commented on in the issue of March, 1887, of the Anarchistic print, *Freedom*, published in London :—

“ Duval was firmly convinced that the appropriators of existing wealth are nothing but thieves. . . . Therefore he found means to relieve one of these appropriators of a portion of the capital thus unfairly retained, and he did it with the purpose of supplying the Anarchist propaganda with funds. . . . In fact, he simply passed from theory to practice.”

In other words, he was, according to the editor, a consistent Anarchist.

The following year another French Anarchist, named Pini, received a like sentence for forging bank notes “ to aid the cause,” and from this time forgery and coining by Anarchists became quite a common practice. The notorious Ravachol was, for instance, an expert and persistent coiner.

The pamphlets to which I have alluded, which were being widely circulated by Anarchists, gave detailed and explicit instructions for the manufacture of bombs, the commission of burglary, coining, poisoning, and even of illegal surgical operations.

One fiend, an Italian of considerable scientific attainments, gave minute instructions—which were afterwards translated into English and published in an American sensational journal—for the cultivation of the germs of cholera, typhoid, and other fell diseases,

Anarchy

and recommended “comrades” to place them in waterworks and so decimate the *bourgeoisie* safely and surely. The Italian police, to prevent the commission of this horrible design, were obliged to keep a considerable number of suspected persons under observation during 1893 and 1894, and the public aqueducts were rigorously guarded night and day.

Bearing in mind the fact that two well-connected youths became coiners—and were recently convicted of the offence—through reading an article describing the methods of “the profession” in the pages of an English family magazine, I must refrain from giving many quotations from this horrible literature, and will ask the reader to take as an example of the mass the MSS. of a pamphlet which was found on the premises of one of the Anarchists arrested at Walsall, in 1892, charged with the manufacture of bombs for the purposes of outrage.

Six men were arrested for the offence, one of them being the brother-in-law of a member of the L.C.C. The police informant was, as is frequently the case, a “comrade”; a man named Coulon, secretary of the International Anarchist School at 19, Fitzroy Square, conducted by Louise Michel.

The MSS. was an infamous production, entitled: “An Anarchist Feast at the Opera.”

The author, after pointing out that he and his friends find no pleasure in the opera, urges that at

least they can in their turn enjoy “the delightful spectacle of seeing on a fine evening this splendid building all in flames in the middle of a brilliant feast, and as a veritable apotheosis carried towards heaven.”

He then explains how the Anarchist may indulge in this riotous form of amusement. He must first prepare a bomb—this is easily done: a few simple chemicals, which can be purchased anywhere, will supply the ingredients. A little ingenuity of construction will make it possible to fix a time-limit for the explosion. With bomb carefully concealed about his person, the man must go to the Opera House, having previously secured a ticket. He then contrives to cut a few slits in the lead gas-pipes. The gas will escape slowly and collect under the dome. The bomb is hidden, and after the first act of the play the Anarchist quietly leaves the theatre. After two hours the bomb will explode and fire the gas, which will in turn set the whole house aflame, and the ruins of the roof “will have the effect of grapeshot on the jolly spectators.” For this work :—

“It requires only hatred in the heart and to be pitiless. After all, what do we care for feelings of humanity, even with regard to the women and children of that race of robbers and real criminals? Do not their young become wolves likewise? Are their females less eager for prey than the males? Therefore it is

Anarchy

pious work to crown worthily those revels which the bandits throw as a defiance at our misery and sufferings. Would not a single one amongst us feel his heart beat with an immense joy in hearing the shrivelling of the grease of the rich, and the howlings of that mass of flesh swarming in the midst of that immense vessel all in a blaze? In fact, what delight in our town to see even at a distance such a red conflagration! A thousand times more beautiful to our eyes than the dazzling of the purest diamond! To hear howlings, the cries of pain and the rage of the wolves, their females and young ones in the midst of the furnace—a thousand times more pleasant and more vibrating to our ears than the songs of half-a-dozen prostitutes above an orchestra.”

Awful and fiendish as this vile production is, the reader may take my word for it that it is not more wicked and murderous than the pamphlets as a whole to which I have alluded, while it lacks the incredible obscenity of very many of the others. At the same time it is only fair to state that leading Anarchists have always declared that this pamphlet was deliberately written by a police spy, for the purpose of securing a conviction and a reward.

CHAPTER XIII

ANARCHIST CRIMES—*continued*

IT might be thought that the horrible suggestion of "A Feast at the Opera" would sicken even the most criminal, but it would seem that to its shocking influence must be ascribed the diabolical outrage committed in 1893 at the Liceo Theatre, Barcelona, when a bomb was hurled from the gallery during a gala performance and twenty people were killed.

Salvator French, a Spanish Anarchist, and five others were shot for this outrage.

Somewhat similar, and equally motiveless, unless the murder of the inoffensive be deemed a motive by Anarchists, was the outrage committed by August Vaillant, who shortly afterwards threw a bomb into the French Parliament, injuring some sixty persons; and similar, too, was the crime of Ravachol, who threw a bomb into the Café Véry, Paris, killing several persons.

These inhuman crimes may perhaps be directly traceable to the dreadful literature circulated, which it is shocking to think any Englishman, however

Anarchy

depraved, could bring himself to read without loathing. The Walsall Anarchists had no sooner been disposed of than a man named David Nicholl, who is at the present day a well-known eccentric habitué of the British Museum Reading Room, achieved notoriety by publishing an article in the *Commonweal*, exposing the methods of the police, and advocating the assassination of Lord Brampton (then Mr. Justice Hawkins) and Inspector Melville. He was prosecuted and sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour. After his release he again edited the *Commonweal*, and amused himself by denouncing most of the prominent Anarchists and Socialists as police spies.

The following year great excitement was caused in London by the sensational statement in the Press that an Anarchist, named Martial Bourdin, was blown to pieces by a bomb in Greenwich Park. The police professed to have learned through their spies at the Club Autonomie that Bourdin's intention was to have blown up the Greenwich Observatory. Bourdin's friends state as positively that the bomb had been "planted" in his rooms by an *agent provocateur* of the police, and that fearing an arrest with such a dangerous article in his possession, he was taking it in the park merely to dispose of it, but was killed by its accidental explosion while he was carrying it in his pocket!

If one-half that English Anarchists assert be true,

most of the English bomb conspiracies so opportunely nipped in the bud were the work of police spies, who incited fools to order parts of bombs from engineers and others, as parts of electrical fittings, etc., and then kept the police informed of the progress of the "conspiracy."

The author knows of one instance where the facts certainly look as though some police agent had been at work to salt the ground for a rich discovery. On the other hand, what happened might have been due to the personal spite of some unsuspected enemy.

A man who had made himself prominent as the exponent of extremist views in politics—he was, in fact, an avowed Communist Anarchist—received by post an ingenious working drawing showing how a soda-water bottle might be converted into a very destructive bomb. There was a second drawing showing how by means of a spring concealed in a tube, the bomb could be ejected silently from a back window over a row of houses into the next street, where it would explode with disastrous effect.

The next day his house received the honour of a surprise visit from the police and was thoroughly searched; but nothing of an incriminating character was found. Had the drawings of the ingenious soda-water bottle been found by the police, it is morally certain that his story as to how they came into his possession would have been discredited. He had,

however, suspected the *bonâ-fides* of the anonymous gift, and immediately on its receipt he had packed it up, and sent it off to Scotland Yard!

That there are police spies among the Anarchists is not denied by the police. Ex-Chief Inspector Melville, in his evidence at the trial of the Walsall Anarchists, admitted that he had "paid lots of Anarchists money." The system is perhaps necessary, but it is essentially bad, as money paid for an object is more or less of an incitement to the fostering of the very thing it is desired to repress.

It will be remembered that early in the last century the practice of giving rewards for the discovery of crime had to be discontinued, owing to the number of wretches who persuaded fools to commit crimes in order that they might inform on them for the sake of the reward. Human nature does not change, and there is the danger that Anarchists who enter into the pay of the police may not be above organizing crime to obtain money.

CHAPTER XIV

ANARCHIST COLONIES IN ENGLAND

AT the International Conference called by the Powers to deal with Anarchy, after the assassinations and crimes that spread terror and disgust throughout the world, one of the plans much favoured was to establish a colony, preferably some remote island, to which all known Anarchists might be deported.

It is not generally known that there are several Anarchist Colonies in this country. The most important is in the Cotswolds, near Cheltenham. Another is in Essex, and some years ago an attempt was made to found yet another at Blackburn.

The English Anarchists, so far as poverty is to be regarded as a virtue, might be set down as disciples of St. Francis of Assisi ; but they are in fact Tolstoyans, whose whole tenets might be summed up in the plea of non-resistance.

The Cotswold Anarchists are in the main recruited from the ranks of journalists, artists, medical students, and clerks, with a sprinkling of artisans.

The Cotswolds district no doubt attracted them because of its beauty and its isolation. A few miles away lies Cheltenham ; the tower of Gloucester Cathedral is in sight ; and the silver streak of the Bristol Channel lies on the left. Having decided on some barren hills and valleys as a suitable spot, they clubbed together money enough to buy the freehold. This done they took possession. But such a notion as the possession of property or the ownership of land was an anomaly, and so the brethren foregathered for a simple but necessary ceremony. A fire was lighted, and the title-deeds were burned.

The property was henceforth consequently not held in common, but enjoyed in common ; and so entirely absent is all idea of ownership that any one, tramp or tourist, is free to come, is free to stay, is free to go.

The brethren set to work with a right good will to till the ground, and with excellent results ; but the notion of the tillers relinquishing all sense of ownership annoyed a local farmer's sense of propriety. He determined to show them how absurd they were, And so he came one morning with his labourers and dug up all the colonists' potatoes, and took them away. The colonists said him no word, but his neighbours did. They probably made him ashamed of himself, for he has never since returned to harvest where he has not sown.

When they first grew fruit the country boys thought

it must be easy to steal from them. It was far easier than they thought ; for the colonists made no objection to their taking the fruit. And somehow the ease of it all robbed the experiment of its zest, and gradually the boys ceased to come for the fruit to which they were welcome, and preferred to rob the orchards and the gardens where there was the risk of the farmer's dog or the farmer's boot.

Tramps thought it would be a fine place to come and lazy in, especially if they were given food. They got the food—such food as there was—and shelter too. And they were allowed to lazy as they desired. And in the morning although the visiting tramp found a spade placed beside the door of his hut, he was quite free to leave it there. They were never told to go ; but somehow the tramps went, and they did not return. Perhaps the life was too lazy for them.

The colonists dispense with money, and such exchange as is necessary is carried on by barter. It is said that they dispense with clothes, but what is really meant is that they dispense with fashion. Women and men wear sandals, because the art of walking barefoot is not quickly acquired. It takes years to produce hardness of feet, as it does to produce the verdure of lawns. They wear headgear—any headgear—sometimes ; usually when the sun streams very brightly, for colonists, like other people, find the sun too bright for the eyes. For the rest, anything

will do ; a kilt or a pair of football knickers. It is merely a question of cover and comfort.

The colonists lead the simple life, and it has answered very well. They started in the summer of 1897, and so far their harvests have not failed them. They take so little thought for the morrow that if an army of tourists were to swarm on them, they might eat them out of house, though not of home. The colonists would smile and bid them welcome. So far nothing so untoward has happened. On the contrary, they have had many a surplus over their wants, and this has been spent on purchasing luxuries which they cannot grow or manufacture, such as books and a piano. But this is only barter after all. An exchange with the world which they have left, which lies outside the beauty and quietude of the Cotswolds.

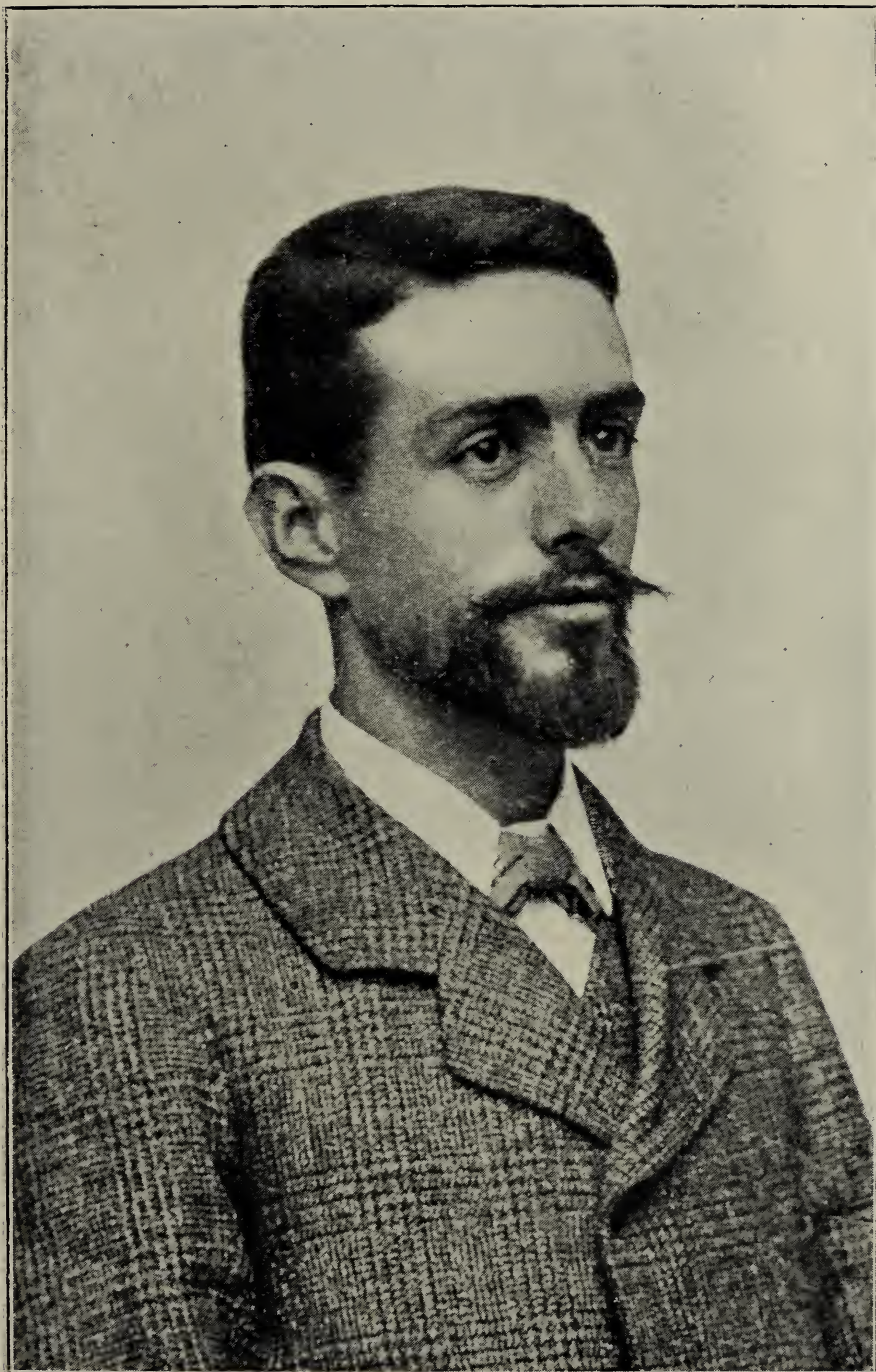
Such disciples and exponents of philosophic Anarchism deserve, and must surely earn, the respect and regard of all people. In viewing their simple lives it is difficult to imagine that they can have lot or part with those miscreants who have plunged nations into sorrow by their crimes, or with those worse and more cowardly miscreants, who by the dissemination of wicked and terrible pamphlets such as "An Anarchist Feast at the Opera," urge others to the commission of fiendish crimes which they themselves are afraid to attempt, much as they might gloat over their contemplation.

And yet it is undeniable that Anarchism is as responsible for its ill-favoured brood, secretly inspiring the foulest thoughts, and inciting to the foulest deeds, as it is for the harmless and well-meaning colonists of Cotswold. The loosening of all moral bonds and the entire reliance placed on individual free-will, is only harmless where the individual is harmless. The Anarchist regards as dictation even the simple injunction, "Learn to do good," but he would regard as positive tyranny the imperative command, "Cease to do evil." It must be obvious to any intelligence but that of an Anarchist that the confirmed evildoer will not cease from his evil deeds unless under compulsion, and it is difficult to grasp any theory by which the Anarchist can assure himself that the commission of evil can do good to its perpetrators or to the community. He would not hesitate to check the career of a running wolf or a mad dog which threatened the peace of the community, yet an individual contemplating far greater mischief than dog or wolf could be guilty of he thinks should go his way unmolested. It is impossible to believe that a well-ordered brain could conceive anything so illogical as this, and yet the doctrine of non-resistance held by even the mild and harmless Anarchists of Cotswold, precludes them from passing a condemnation on the advocacy of even such fiendish wickedness as the publication of "An Anarchist Feast at the Opera."

Anarchy

Crimes such as are advocated in this awful pamphlet can have no effect but the wanton shedding of blood. It could not be pretended that the assassin's bomb was directed against any particular persons and classes. It would be impossible in such a place to isolate and strike at the rich alone ; and even were that possible, among the members of the rich who would be thus ruthlessly slaughtered would most probably be charitable and philanthropic men and women held in the highest esteem by the poor.

It is hard to believe that any other idea than the love of mere slaughter and cruelty can lie behind the assassination and outrages of the violent Anarchists, and it therefore seems illogical that Anarchists should preserve life and diffuse comfort by an open-handed hospitality, while at the same time it must be assumed that they would have no word of condemnation for a miscreant "comrade" who took it into his head to throw a bomb among their guests.



MATEO DEL MORAL (*see page 147*).

To face page 140.

CHAPTER XV

HOW ANARCHISM ATTRACTS CRIMINALS

ANARCHISM is exhibited in a bad or a good light, according to the personality of its professors. Men like William Morris, Tolstoi, and Kropotkin, and the men and women who are passing their blameless lives in the Anarchist Colony in the Cotswolds inspire in us the highest respect, not unmixed with wonderment. The Anarchist Colonists, far from the madding crowd, appear to act up to the most literal interpretation of the code of morals, fraternity, and non-resistance of the Sermon on the Mount. Such people neither advocate nor commit outrages, because they are incapable of either crime. On the other hand, the absence of even the most elementary code of morals from Anarchism attracted to it every type of ruffian and criminal. The most depraved and callous no doubt finds a special enjoyment in finding the crimes detested and resented by the community at large invested with a halo as an assertion of principle, and tolerated by his new "comrades" if they did not

Anarchy

approve them. This was a new and a pleasant experience for the forger, the coiner, and the thief. No longer was he a common ruffian meanly taking from another man's store by trick and cunning and stealth. He had suddenly blossomed into a hero, making war on the bourgeoisie who had previously robbed the community. Theft was no longer theft ; it was successful warfare ; forgery was no longer a mean and pitiful crime ; it had become a conquest of strategy ; and coining preened itself in this new atmosphere as the assertion of the sovereignty of the individual.

No wonder criminals joined the Anarchists ; no wonder Anarchism only confirmed them in their evil ways.

No road is barred in Anarchism, and if the impulse be towards good deeds, the " comrade " so inspired receives the usual tacit concurrence or sympathy which is the Anarchist form of approval. It is said that Louise Michel in her marketing excursions round Soho frequently returned with an empty basket and an empty pocket, having given away all she had purchased for her own needs. On the other hand, the road to evil is equally free in Anarchism, and is trodden by such " comrades " as choose it, with the same tacit sympathy. I have shown how thieves, forgers, and coiners may assume their crimes to be assertions of Anarchistic principles, but the awful statement which I now make—and which I make with delibera-

tion, after full consideration, knowing it to be true—is that there is no crime, however dreadful, however horrible, which is not gathered under the ægis of Anarchism, and which may not be advocated and committed in its name as an assertion of principle. The very fact that certain crimes might especially shock the public, commend them to the Anarchistic mind which delights in shocking and terrifying the bourgeoisie.

Ravachol was one of Anarchism's worst criminals. He was sent to penal servitude for life for causing several explosions, but was afterwards tried and found guilty of the murder of a very old eccentric, his sole object being robbery. He was a forger, coiner, and burglar ; and there is no doubt he would have been a hardened criminal for his own gain had Anarchism never been instituted. It is only worth noting that this common criminal Ravachol added to his list of crimes several conceived in the true wanton spirit of Anarchism, the only object being destruction and the spreading of terror.

In England we have had many examples of the wantonness of criminal Anarchism. Two Italians, Polti and Farnaro, were in 1892 charged with the wholesale manufacture of bombs. They had been giving extensive orders to a firm of engineers in the Blackfriars Road, and when they were arrested a considerable number of bombs were found in their

possession. It was never accurately known what use they were intended for, but it is believed that the destruction of the Stock Exchange and the Houses of Parliament was contemplated. Polti, a lad of twenty years of age, was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude, and Farnaro to twenty. Mr. Jabez Balfour met these men during his imprisonment and refers to them as quiet, gentle individuals, with a marked horror of taking life! "When working in the prison garden," he writes, "they would go out of their way to preserve the life even of a noxious insect, and nothing caused them more pain than the accidental maiming of a worm or caterpillar."

In July, 1894, a series of explosions in letter-boxes throughout South London attracted much attention and naturally caused considerable annoyance. These stupid and mischievous outrages were eventually traced to a man named Richards—one of the seven members which constituted the Deptford Group of Anarchists—and he was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. Soon afterwards an outrage, which is not without its humorous side and is certainly more consistent with Anarchism was committed by C. Davis, a Birmingham "Comrade." Wrapping a brick in a copy of the *Walsall Anarchist* he crashed it through a jeweller's window, and then coolly proceeded to distribute the articles in the window to the passers-by. He was, however, interrupted, and in due course

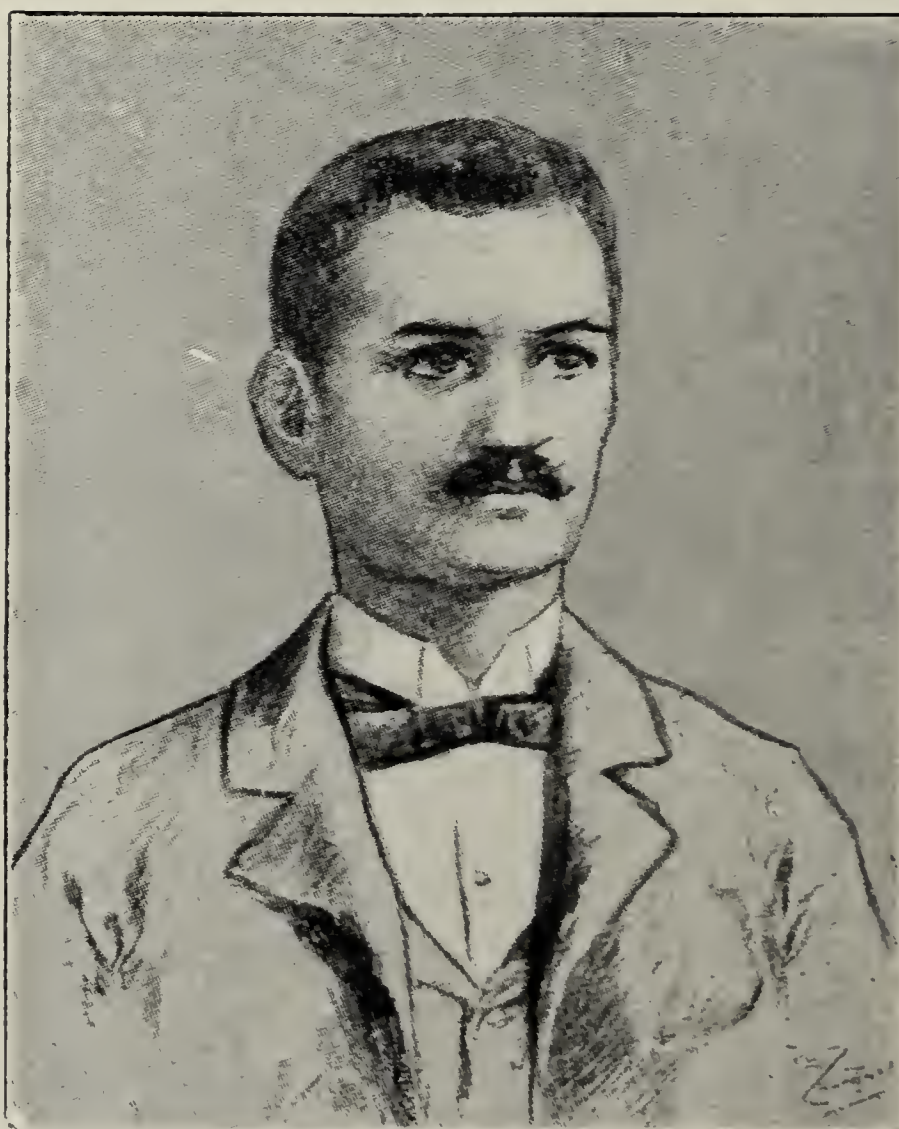


CASERIO SANTO.
Murderer of President Carnot.

To face page 144.



LUCCHENI.
Murderer of the Empress of Austria.



GAETANO BRESCI.
Murderer of the King of Italy.

received " eighteen months " for this practical exposition of his strange principles.

The year 1894 was an eventful one for France in its struggle with Anarchism. Emile Henry flung a bomb from the balcony of the Café Terminus, killing two people and seriously wounding twenty-four ; and a youthful Italian Anarchist named Caserio Santo mortally stabbed President Carnot at Lyons.

Santo was a good-looking beardless boy, who had no associates and was not concerned in any conspiracy. He had merely heard assassination lauded in the " groups " he had been in the habit of attending and his head was turned with the resolve to be a hero and die a martyr ! The President of the French Republic was chosen by him for no better reason than that it is the custom for Anarchists to revile democratic institutions as being more difficult to uproot than those of autocracy. No doubt if this notion had not been put in Santo's head by those with whom he fraternised, his unwelcome choice would have fallen on some monarch.

In Italy an attempt was made on Signor Crispi, and three years afterwards Angiolillo, a remarkably clever and well-educated man, succeeded in assassinating the oft-threatened Spanish Premier, Senor Canovas. On September 10th, 1898, the beautiful and unhappy Empress of Austria, " Elizabeth of the Golden Hair," was cruelly murdered at Geneva by an Italian Anarchist

named Luccheni ; and two years later Gaetano Bresci, a young, fresh-complexioned, good-looking fellow, stabbed King Humbert fatally.

Like Luccheni he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but he escaped this fate by committing suicide.

Luccheni, it is understood, is condemned to solitary confinement. It is believed that he is immured in a dark cell which he is never allowed to leave for any purpose, and that his sparse food is thrust daily to him through a hole in the wall.

A curious incident in the history of Anarchism is the attempt made on the life of the King, then Prince of Wales, in Brussels by a half-crazy boy named Sipido. It was probably due to the intervention of His Majesty that Sipido, to all intents and purposes, escaped punishment, thus robbing Anarchism of an advertisement and depriving him of the distinction of notoriety. Curiously enough Sipido on his release came to London where, in the useful and commonplace occupation of a potman in a public-house, he lives to thank his stars that he has attained the privilege of obscurity.

In an earlier chapter I have referred to the unjustifiable executions of Parsons, Spies, and Fieldman, the Chicago Anarchists, and said that these judicial murders gave a great impetus to Anarchism in the U.S.A. To them were also directly traceable the

How Anarchism attracts Criminals ¹⁴⁷

assassination of President McKinley and King Humbert of Italy.

Among the new adherents to Anarchy as a direct consequence of the Chicago executions was Emma Goldman, who has ever since been known as the "High-Priestess of Anarchy." A half-witted Pole named Czolgosz used to hang on her fiery speeches, and directly inspired by the hatred they breathed against class and government he conceived the dreadful design which he carried out by assassinating the President at the opening of the Buffalo Exhibition. Bresci, who worked for some years in New York, and who married an Irish woman, also fell under the influence of her fiery eloquence. Thus does the seed of evil propagate its evil progeny for generations.

There was a lull in assassination from 1901, probably because the Boer war and the Russian and Japanese conflict caused the comrades to indulge in speculations concerning the results of these events, rather than indulge in "removals" and other outrages. In 1905 an attempt was made in Paris to assassinate the King of Spain and the President of the French Republic by an unknown miscreant, probably Moral, a bomb being thrown at the carriage in which the illustrious persons were being driven from the opera.

In May, 1906, Moral committed the dreadful outrage in Madrid by which twenty-five people were killed

Anarchy

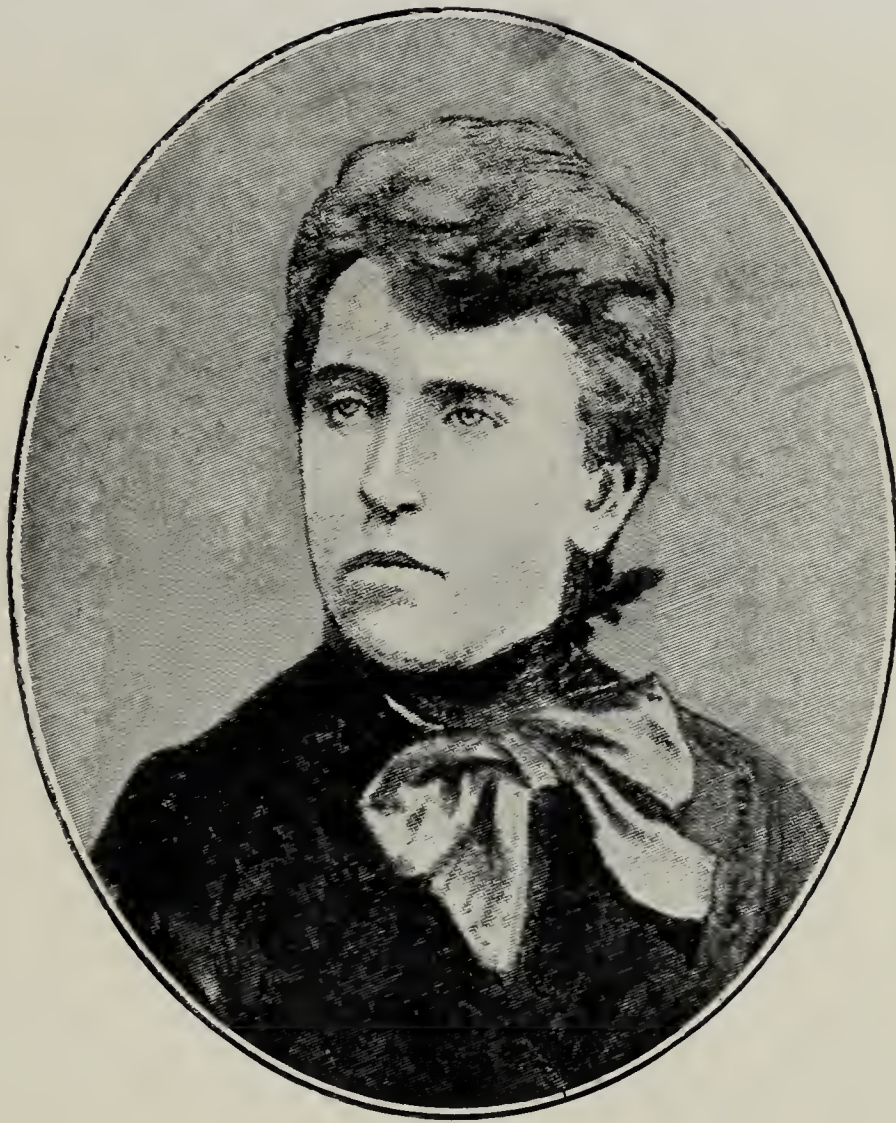
and thirty-four seriously injured. Stationing himself at a point of vantage on the route, he threw a bomb at the Royal carriage, the occupants of which only escaped a terrible death owing to the carriage being bomb-proof.

Moral, preserving a marvellous coolness, made a dramatic escape, but some days afterwards was recognized in an inn some fourteen miles from Madrid. He shot the policeman who attempted to arrest him, and then, finding escape hopeless, shot himself.

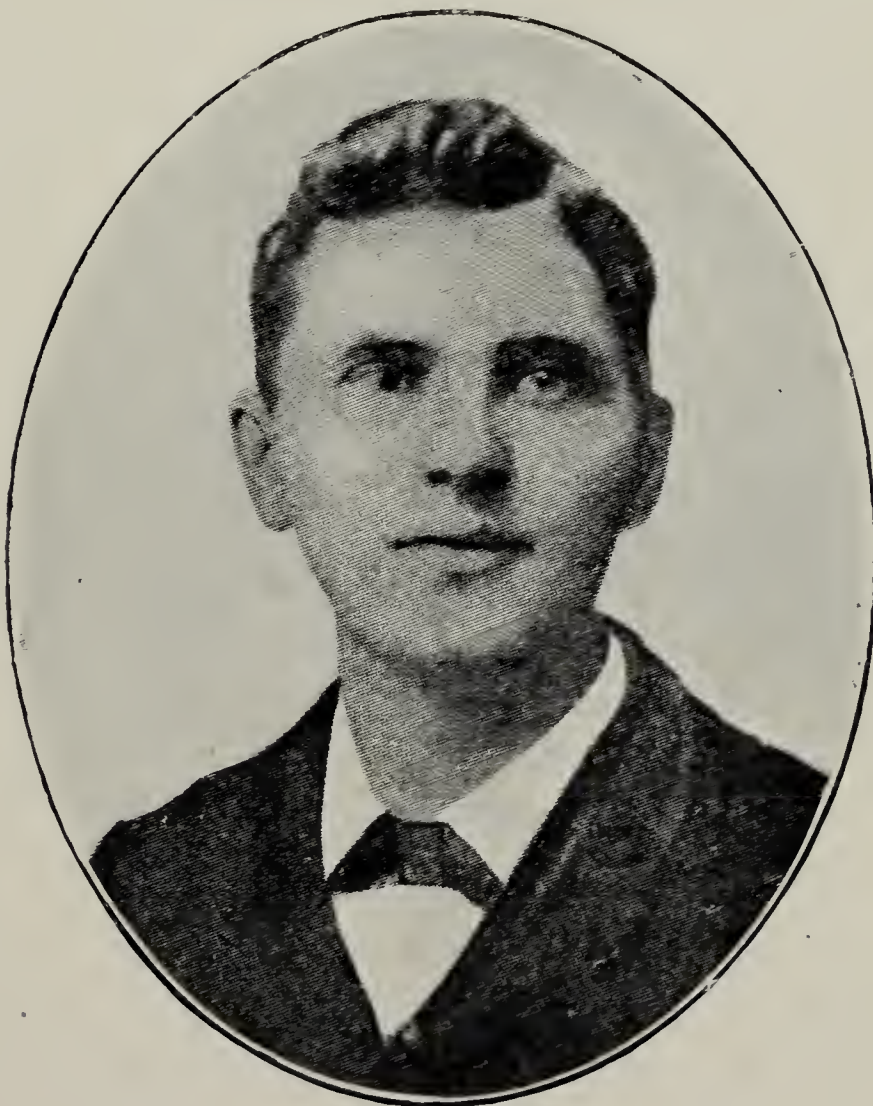
The foregoing is a brief resumé of some of the principal Anarchist crimes which have revolted humanity. It would serve a useful purpose now to show how innate was the instinct of criminality in the perpetrators of some of the worst of them.

Ravachol and Emile Henry were undoubtedly habitual criminals. To commit crime was instinctive with them just as it was with our own fiendish poisoners, Neil Cream and Chapman. The fact that they embraced Anarchy was an incident in their careers, not the cause of their turning to crime.

Santa, Luccheni, Czolgosz, Bresci, and Moral were, on the other hand, men of good character. They belonged to a type that is common in the south of Europe : they were dreamers of dreams, intensely emotional even to the borderland of insanity. A French Anarchist, named Leanthies, now imprisoned for life for the attempted assassination of the Servian Minister in



EMMA GOLDMAN.
Anarchist Lecturer.



CZOLGOSZ.
Murderer of President McKinley.

How Anarchism attracts Criminals 149

France, wrote "that he felt he must attack the *bourgeoisie*."

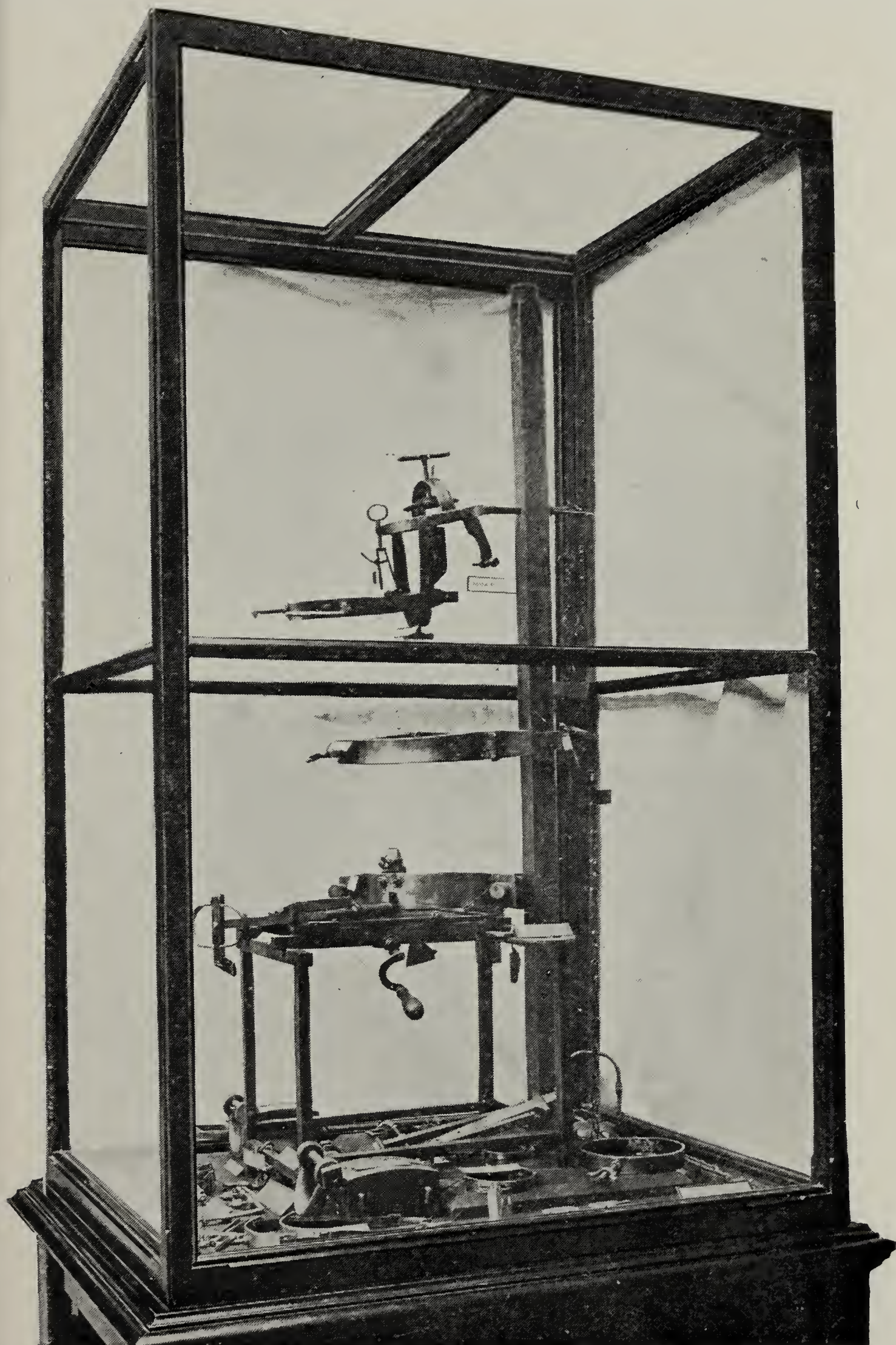
These men, by constantly brooding on what they conceive to be the wrongs of humanity and their own sufferings, become monomaniacs, and commit assassination in much the same manner and through much the same ill-balanced reasoning as others commit suicide.

The *Vendetta* which still has a marvellous hold on the races of Southern Europe, has much in common with the violent impulses of Anarchy. Bresci was undoubtedly not so desirous of striking terror into the hearts of rulers when he stabbed King Humbert as he was to avenge Luccheni. Czolgosz, as I have pointed out, was an instrument inspired to avenge the execution of the Chicago Anarchists. That event transformed the Russian Jewess Emma Goldman, from a quiet exponent of trades unionism into a veritable firebrand of violent Anarchy. To the influence of her fiery denunciations may also be ascribed the crime of the Russian Jew Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who shot Carnegie's manager at Pittsburgh in 1892.

That brutality fosters rather than discourages Anarchism is proved by the hold it has obtained in Spain, where the authorities resorted to the most abominable tortures in their treatment of Anarchists. Some four or five years ago a number of Anarchists

were expelled from Spain and came to London. These men although described as Anarchists in Spain would be regarded as Progressives and Trade Unionists here, so mild were their views. They were suspected of knowing, and probably did know, some of the leading conspirators and revolutionaries in Barcelona. They were arrested and confined without trial for several months in the Castle of Montjuich. These men, when they came to London, made the Enterprise Tavern, Long Acre—then owned by Mr. Tom Mann—their rendezvous ; and in the presence of Mr. Mann and others they exposed their bodies to exhibit the ineffaceable marks of the horrible tortures to which they had been subjected, and which without this proof would have been incredible. Amongst the tortures inflicted on them were the applying of flames to various parts of their bodies ; the aim of this horrible treatment being to extort from them information which they assured Mr. Mann they did not possess.

In Horniman's Museum, Sydenham, a Spanish torture chair, the only specimen in this country, exists. It was constructed in 1675, and is such a marvel of diabolical ingenuity that every part of every limb, and every portion of the body of the victim seated in it, can be tortured at the will of the executioner. These horrible contrivances formerly existed in every great prison in Spain, but they were nearly all destroyed by the French troops during the Penin-



SPANISH TORTURE CHAIR.
(Now in Horniman's Museum.)

To face page 150.

sular War. A few still remain in some of the remote dungeons of Spain. There is one at Montjuich Castle, and no one who saw the poor scarred bodies of the expelled Spanish Anarchists as they were exposed at "The Enterprise," could doubt it.

Such brutality explains, while, of course nothing can justify the frequency of Anarchist crimes in southern countries. The ever-present marks of such diabolical tortures must ever be incitements to revenge; and the memory of such deeds done in the name of authority must banish all reverence and loyalty for that authority.

Instances of such treatment are not infrequent, and they are seized on by Anarchist orators and writers to emphasize the alleged cruelty, cowardice, and injustice of the ruling classes. The chief reason why England is immune from Anarchist outrages is because it has no special legislation for Anarchists. If they commit an outrage they are tried for the offence just as any other criminal. This at once ensures justice, and deprives them of notoriety. King Edward never showed his good sense better than when, following on the Madrid outrage, he quickly contradicted the rumour that he was in consultation with the Cabinet with a view to the introduction in England of special measures dealing with Anarchists similar to those which obtain on the Continent and in America.

CHAPTER XVI

AN ANARCHIST IN SUBURBIA (A ROMANCE IN REAL LIFE)

IN a vine-covered cottage on the outskirts of Bromley—a pretty and comfortable little residence, poetically labelled “Viola”—live a couple who have entered simply and unaffectedly into the rural life of the district. The man is tall, dresses like an average professional gentleman in the enjoyment of a comfortable income, and is the idol of the farmers and gardeners of the district, who regard him as a supreme authority on agricultural and horticultural matters. Like William he “plays the fiddle like a hangel”; and another diversion of his is painting. The good people of Bromley know vaguely that he “writes,” but it is open to question if many of the gardeners of the neighbouring “desirable residences standing in their own grounds” have even a vague notion of the extraordinary history of the man who, leaning on the gate of Viola Cottage on a summer evening, gives them such hints of the mysteries of intensive agriculture as they are likely to usefully appreciate. The owner of

Viola Cottage is not a reticent man, but one who has lived for mankind and whose endeavours are intended for the world, teaches to the gardeners of Bromley only what is likely to be of use to them, and does not seek to interest them in the problems which are intended to reconstruct constitutions.

For this resident of Bromley who is willing to assist its gardeners and farmers with a hint of newer or better methods than is within their ken, or to help a scientific student with his advice, wrote the work which has ranked him with the great scientists of the world while he was immured in the dungeon of a Russian prison, and successfully conducted the experiments which have revolutionised agriculture, on a small patch of ground allotted to him for the purpose within the confines of a French prison.

As a matter of fact no writer of melodrama or sensational fiction has ever conceived a more romantic or adventurous career than that of the man who lives his simple unpretentious life in Viola Cottage, Bromley. Disdaining in his private life even the ordinary prefix, the absence of which would be resented by a City clerk, he is a prince of Royal blood, and of the highest and most ancient lineage. Possessed of an enormous heritage, he voluntarily sacrificed it while yet a young man, to throw in his lot with the outcast populations of the world—outcast as he views it, from the comforts and rational enjoyments of life by an artificial, corrupt,

and immoral civilization. This simple-living writer—amateur violinist and painter for his own amusement—the friend of his workmen neighbours in Bromley, is by his intellectual gifts and achievements an honoured member and associate of learned and scientific societies the whole world over, and yet is held in such dread by those whose methods he holds in abhorrence, that the most tyrannical and despotic Government in the world, from whose clutches he escaped only by a miracle of strategy, exerted for years all its power, influence and wealth to kidnap him, so that he might be cast into a dungeon from which escape a second time would be impossible.

Such is in brief the story of the man who lives at Viola Cottage, Bromley; the Anarchist Prince Peter Kropotkin. It is a story worth telling in detail, for it reveals, if it does not altogether explain, the ethical hopeful something in Anarchism which captivates the minds even of men who are amongst the greatest and noblest the world has seen.

Prince Peter Kropotkin was born in Moscow on December 9th, 1842. His family, more ancient than that of the Romanoffs, is traced in its descent from the legendary Rurik, the Hengist of Russia. This fact was not overlooked by the constitutional party in Russia, who, in more or less open fashion, held that Kropotkin had a much better claim to the throne than Alexander II. To those who have studied the



PRINCE KROPOTKIN'S COTTAGE.

To face page 154.

inner history of Russian intrigue from the top, there can be little doubt of it, that had Kropotkin's sympathies not thrown him into the ranks of the International Revolutionists, he would be the most likely candidate for the throne in the event of the abdication or deposition of the Czar.

General Alexander Kropotkin, the prince's father, was a rough soldier who heartily despised all civilians, and held that "strength and skill in horsemanship" were to be prized far above learning. Kropotkin had the misfortune to lose his mother when he was not yet six years of age. She was the exact opposite of his father. A woman of remarkable beauty, wide sympathy, and great intellectual powers, it is no doubt from her that Kropotkin inherits the gifts which have made him at once so famous and so unfortunate. This is his own view, except that he would demur to the suggestion that the losses he has sustained or the sufferings he has endured are to be regarded in the light of misfortunes.

He was educated at the School of the Pages at St. Petersburg, the object of which is to prepare the students for a military career ; but from this, from his fifteenth year, Kropotkin evinced a most decided aversion. Parental authority was not to be overborne, and young Peter had to submit. In his choice of environment, however, he exhibited that wilfulness and originality which, in the light of after events, may be

regarded as a keynote to his character. All students at the Pages' School had the privilege of choosing the regiment to which they desired to be attached, and family influence added to this privilege made it easy for young Kropotkin to select the most brilliant and pleasurable surroundings. He elected instead, at the age of seventeen, to become a lieutenant in the Cossacks of the Amur ; thus in the first blush of his dawning manhood preferring to study the darker side of Russian life and government at close quarters.

The liberal aspirations of the Czar were at this time in the ascendant, and the air was thick with rumours of reform. Young Kropotkin was firmly convinced that the Czar was sincere in his desire to check administrative abuses ; and it was with the notion of learning the secrets of tyrannical methods that he chose his lieutenancy in the Amur, fully intending to be a loyal supporter and advocate of the Czar in his democratic aims.

Some idea of the young officer's aim was no doubt known at headquarters, for he was entrusted by the Czar with the task of preparing a report on the prisons of Transbaikalia, a province of Eastern Siberia. He entered on his task with all the ardour of a sincere and sympathetic reformer, and the horrors which he discovered and disclosed in his report were simply appalling.

He was overjoyed at his mission, believing that

when his report reached the Czar the horrible conditions to which he drew attention would be abolished. But here at the very outset of his career, with a heart full of hope for his country and of faith in the professions of its ruler, he experienced his first disillusionment. The report which he had prepared with such industry and impartiality was pigeon-holed, and the iniquities went on unchecked.

Not yet disheartened, he next devised a scheme of local government for Eastern Siberia. This did not meet the fate of his report on the Transbaikalian Prisons. There was not the possibility of its having been overlooked, or put on one side for future consideration ; which, however disappointing, leaves some balm in hopeful conjecture. It was rejected with undisguised contempt.

Kropotkin, immediately following on this snub, was appointed attaché to the Cossack administration in Eastern Siberia, which gave him the opportunity of exploring that dreary tract of country. This exploration he conducted with the utmost ardour on scientific lines, penetrating in his task even into China. The account of these explorations was afterwards published by the Russian and Siberian Geographical Society, and was received so favourably in scientific circles that when he returned to St. Petersburg at the age of twenty-three he found that his reputation as an explorer and scientist was already established. As a

Anarchy

result of this he was commissioned to proceed to Finland to examine and report on certain geological phenomena.

In Finland the deplorable condition of the peasantry attracted his attention far more than his mission. His young, ardent, and sympathetic spirit was less attracted by the problem of reading the puzzle of geology than in that of solving the problem of life. Kropotkin saw but one way, and he embraced it, for he immediately joined the revolutionary movement. Almost simultaneously with the taking of this fateful step, his father died and he succeeded to his enormous wealth and estates, which he decided to devote to the benefit of mankind.

For some years Kropotkin devoted himself to the study of the conditions of the working-class in France and Germany as well as in Russia. He also studied the various schools of revolutionary thought, contrasting their theories with the practical experience he had gained in Russia and Siberia. The results of his studies confirmed the impression founded on his experience, that the emancipation of the world's workers could only be achieved by securing for them free access to the land, to the implements of labour, and to the various agencies by which labour is exploited for the benefit of capital. He compared the average workman with the average government official, much to the disparagement of the latter, and

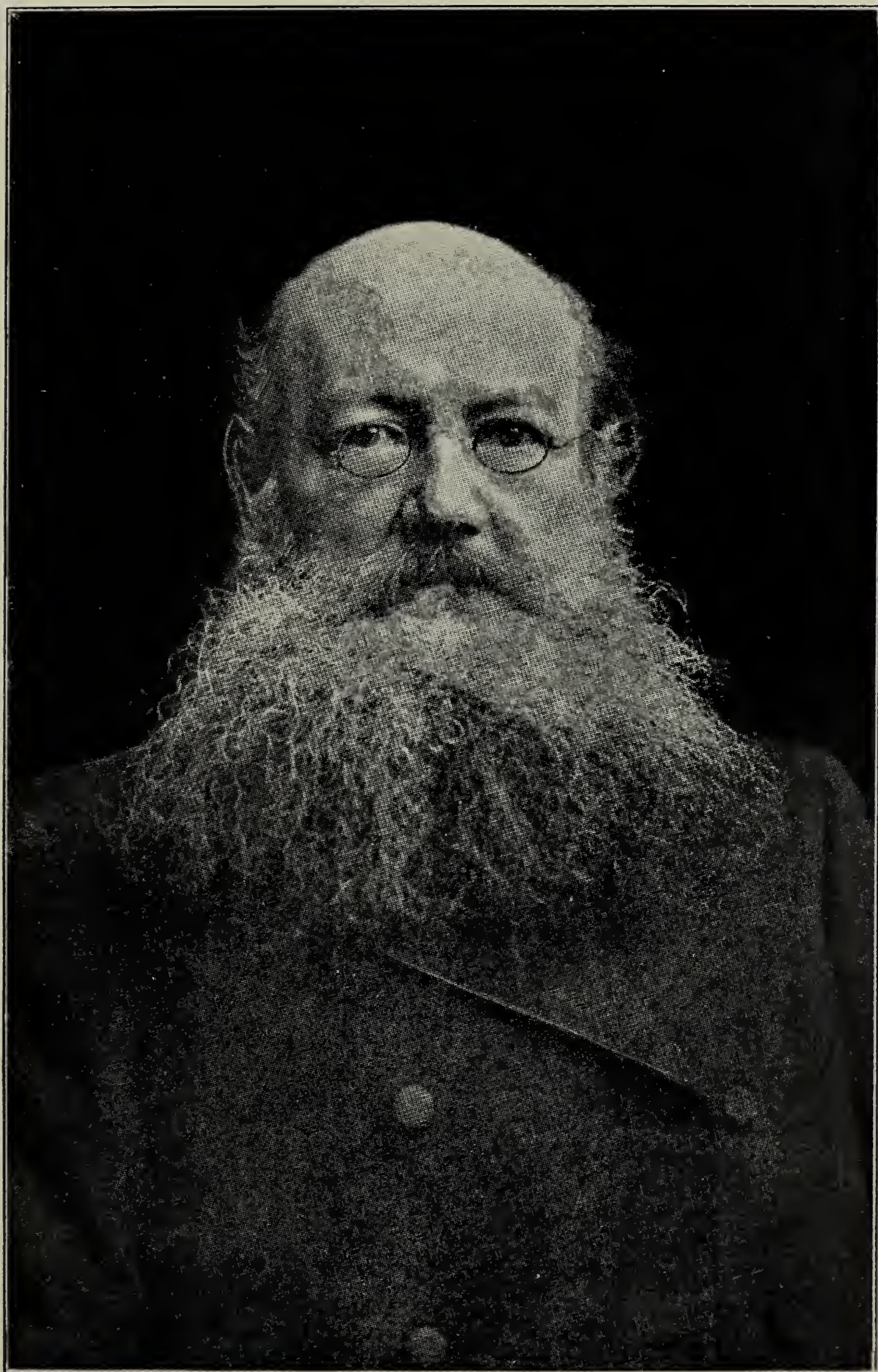
so, step by step, became more and more convinced that in Communist Anarchism lay the only hope for the effectuation of the ideal to which he had devoted his life. Then came the Franco-German war, followed by the instructive episode of the Commune, from which so much was expected, but which was ruthlessly stamped out by the trained troops of Versailles, but the Paris Commune, despite its overthrow, was held by all revolutionaries to point out the only means of successful revolutionary effort, and a body called the International Working-men's Association had been formed, the aim of which was to repeat the *coup* of the Commune on a grand scale, and achieve the overthrow of the various governments simultaneously.

Kropotkin, although an avowed revolutionary, was not then, nor has he ever been, a party to any conspiracy. He simply saw something good in every advanced movement which aimed at the social emancipation of the workers.

For a time he was inclined to co-operate with Karl Marx and the Socialists who adopted his views, but after profound study he found their aims too circumscribed, and he definitely embraced Anarchism. This of course meant, as Anarchism must always mean, only the personal avowal of certain principles, but did not entail any sympathy with crime.

In breaking with Marx and with Socialism generally,

he gave as his reason that he had come to the conclusion that "State Socialism meant the breaking of old fetters only to substitute new ones." It must therefore be assumed that if the "International" succeeded in overthrowing the various European systems of government, an era of absolute individual freedom would be proclaimed, and I doubt if a writer lives, whose pen could, with any appearance of plausibility, depict the state of things which would ensue.



PRINCE KROPOTKIN.

To face page 160.

CHAPTER XVII

KROPOTKIN (*continued*)—THE PRINCE AS A
REVOLUTIONARY

KROPOTKIN now definitely devoted himself to an active educational propaganda of his views amongst workmen, and his heart turning to his own country he decided, notwithstanding the perils incurred, on returning to Russia, so as to make that the scene of his endeavours. In St. Petersburg he allied himself with the revolutionary party known as the Tschaikovsky. This was purely an agitationary body, working as openly as conditions permitted, and entirely dissociated from conspiracy. Russian tyranny had not at that time called the Terrorists into existence, and the secret organization of assassination and other outrages was unknown.

Although Kropotkin resumed his connection with his friends in his right name, he adopted the pseudonym Borodin in revolutionary circles, where he was believed to be simply a highly-educated, intellectual workman. His great powers of speech soon made him a favourite with the revolutionaries, and he exerted enormous influence with the workmen, to whom he expounded

revolutionary principles in the now blood-stained Alexander Nevsky District, the Faubourg St. Antoine of St. Petersburg.

The police were, of course, aware that the revolutionaries had gained a new and powerful recruit. Spies brought them full and sensational accounts of the daring speeches of Borodin and of the influence he was exerting amongst the workmen. Every precaution was taken by his associates to save him from their clutches, but eventually he was pointed out to the police by a workman who had been paid to betray him, and he was arrested for sedition.

Still the police were in a quandary. Borodin was only a name to them, and with all the aid afforded them by their spies they could discover nothing of his antecedents. They suspected that Borodin was not his real name, but from their prisoner they could extract no information. His landlady, however, innocently gave them the clue they needed by making enquiries for Prince Peter Kropotkin, who had mysteriously disappeared from his lodgings.

The crime of Borodin, the working-man, was bad enough, but that a prince who had held a commission in the army should assume a disguise in order that he might incite the lowest of the population to sedition was heinous beyond expression. He was committed without trial to an underground cell in the fortress of St. Peter and Paul, in March, 1874. The sanitation

and food were intolerable and his health quickly broke down. The disclosure of his real name had, however, aroused influential support in his favour. His brother Alexander and the Geographical Society petitioned the Czar time after time to allow him books and writing material, and eventually they succeeded in this and also in mitigating to some extent the horrors of his imprisonment.

It was in this under-ground cell and while undergoing this rigorous imprisonment that Kropotkin wrote his famous treatise on the Glacial Period. It is a marvellous instance of intellectual detachment, but the effort no doubt saved his life and reason. It may be, too, that the subject served to mitigate the miseries he was enduring in forcing him to the contemplation of a period when human existence was physically unendurable.

But even with the relaxation permitted him, two years was sufficient to break down Kropotkin's health and spirits, and he was removed a physical wreck to the military hospital. As he became convalescent he began to plan his escape, and in this he exhibited remarkable keenness, forethought, and strategical resource. He first of all established communication with friends outside, and then awaited developments. Carefully concealing his strength as it slowly returned, he feigned extreme weakness. Every day now he was permitted exercise around the small courtyard, accompanied by a sentry. Pretending that his legs were

Anarchy

unable to bear his weight, he used to crawl round in a circle, painfully dragging one leg after another. The sentry tiring of this monotonous exercise stood in the centre after a while, and was content to watch the patient.

The gate of the courtyard during the exercise period almost invariably remained open, as the winter's store of fuel was being received; and on this fact Kropotkin relied. He had made the most careful calculations as to the time it would take him to make a rush for the gate, and the chances he ran of being shot by the sentry, and having planned the best possible method he decided on running the risk. He had arranged with his friends to have a carriage in waiting outside, and if he reached this without being shot down the chances of escape were largely in his favour. The signal to be given by his friends that the carriage was in readiness was the floating of a child's red air-ball. The appointed day came, however, and Kropotkin looked in vain for the signal. As a matter of fact, the plan was frustrated by a singular oversight. The signal was decided on before the means of giving it were secured, and Kropotkin's friends searched all the toy-shops of St. Petersburg in vain. Not a single red air-ball was to be had in the city.

Another plan had to be arranged. A friend engaged a room overlooking the hospital and kept watch from the window. When everything was in readiness he was to play the Russian National Hymn on a violin,

ceasing if there were any appearance of danger. The right moment at last came, and Kropotkin made a rush for the gate. The sentry was too surprised to fire, but in a moment he rushed after his enfeebled prisoner. Despair, however, leant energy to Kropotkin, who managed to reach the carriage in advance of his pursuer. He was immediately dragged in by his friends, the horses were whipped up, and in a few minutes the carriage was out of sight. Disguised as a military officer he was smuggled out of the country and reached Hull in safety.

The miseries of his imprisonment were not, however, all the sufferings he had to endure. On regaining his liberty he found that his devoted brother Alexander, enraged at his treatment, had written a fiery letter to a friend, which was intercepted by the authorities, denouncing the methods of the Government, and for this he had been exiled to Siberia. With that refinement of cruelty for which Russia is notorious, he had even been refused permission to visit his dying child. It is unnecessary to dwell on the pathetic story of Alexander Kropotkin. Its pathos and its indictment of Russian rule may be summed up in the statement that after enduring Siberia for twelve years for having manfully protested against the cruel treatment of his brother, he escaped the continuance of his misery by committing suicide, as so many thousands similarly placed have done.

CHAPTER XVIII

KROPOTKIN (*continued*)—THE PRINCE AS A STRUGGLE-
FOR-LIFER

FROM Hull, Kropotkin went to Edinburgh, and from there he proceeded to London. With all his property confiscated, and with all the resources of the Russian government directed against him, it is no wonder that he took a circuitous route to London, that Mecca of all those who must earn a livelihood by intellectual effort.

Kropotkin was well equipped for the task of earning his livelihood. His scientific studies and achievements had earned him a world-wide reputation, but he could derive no benefit from this, as it was necessary that he should hide himself from the Russian government, and to do this he was forced to conceal his identity. He could, however, rely on his knowledge and ability, although he could not draw on his reputation ; and in these he had an unusually rich store. Apart from his scientific knowledge and experience he was, for instance, conversant with twenty languages and a master of seven.

He was consequently soon able to secure appointments on the *Times* and *Nature*, which provided him with a sufficient income to stave off all fear of starvation—a happy consummation for one who was practically penniless ; but a curious position for one who, previous to the confiscation of his property, was a millionaire.

His connection with the *Times* soon led to a curious incident which proved of immense benefit to him, although at first it threatened to be a dilemma fraught with disastrous consequences. Not long after his engagement on that paper he was asked by the editor to review a book on Eastern Siberia. Kropotkin was non-plussed : the book was his own ! There was only one thing he could honestly do ; and, of course, he did it. He revealed to the editor the secret of his identity. The surprised editor promised to keep his secret, but he held to his request, and Kropotkin reviewed his own book. It instituted, so far as I know, a novelty in journalism, but the notion has since been imitated openly in “M. A. P.,” in which journal authors have expatiated on the merits of their favourite, or what they regard as their best work.

The main benefit to Kropotkin was that he had enlisted in the editor of the *Times* a powerful friend and ally, whose influence not long afterwards was sufficient to paralyse the efforts exerted by the Russian government for his destruction. The Prince had gone to Switzerland, the home of revolutionaries, and here

a most determined effort was made by the Russian police to kidnap him, so that he might be re-consigned to the fortress of St. Peter and Paul, from whence it is practically certain no further news of him would have been heard. Kropotkin had, however, been apprised of the plot, and he found a means of intimating to the Russian police agents that he had entrusted a full and circumstantial account of their intentions to the editor of the *Times*, with instructions that it should be published if he disappeared. Russia was perfectly prepared to abuse the hospitality of Switzerland, but it did not dare to face the thunders of Printing House Square. Kropotkin was saved.

In Geneva Kropotkin published *Le Révolte*, an Anarchist journal, and carried on a vigorous propaganda simultaneously with arduous and persistent literary work, the proceeds of which, after provision for his very modest mode of living, he devoted to the furtherance of his ideals.

After the assassination of Alexander II. Russia once more exerted herself to attack Kropotkin. He declared that he was entirely innocent of all knowledge of the conspiracy against that Ruler—whose assassination was entirely the work of the Russian Terrorists—but he described it as the inevitable result of that Ruler's reactionary and oppressive policy, and, in that sense, deserved. The Russian government formally conveyed to Switzerland an intimation that it would be acceptable

to it if Kropotkin were invited to leave the country, and this intimation could not be disregarded. The prince next took up his abode in France, and continued his active revolutionary propaganda.

In 1882 labour disputes occurred at Lyons ; violent speeches were made, and at Montceau-les-Mines dynamite bombs were thrown. Kropotkin was in London at the time, but returned to France. He was immediately arrested with Louise Michel and fifty-two others. Charged with being an associate of malefactors, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, to ten years' police supervision, to five years' deprivation of civil rights, and to a fine of 2,000 francs.

The Russian government, in its satisfaction, made a false move. It bestowed decorations on all who were concerned in the prosecution, and this caused many fair-minded Frenchmen furiously to think.

Kropotkin accepted his fate stoically, and spent three years in the prison of Clairvaux. The revulsion of feeling inaugurated by the bestowal of Russian decorations however grew rapidly. It was even hinted, and to this day is believed by many, that the Lyons riots were incited by Russian *agents provocateurs*, the hope being that a net sufficiently wide would be spread to ensure Kropotkin being entangled in its meshes.

A petition for his release was quickly organized, and this was signed by every scientist of eminence in Great

Anarchy

Britain, and also by the Council of the British Museum. The French government was however obdurate, but it allowed Kropotkin privileges not usually granted to those sentenced to imprisonment as an associate of malefactors. For one thing it placed at his disposal a small plot of ground within the precincts of the prison, on which he was able to carry out those experiments which have enabled him to lay down those principles of intensive cultivation which have revolutionised scientific agriculture. If it be true that the man is the greatest benefactor to his race who can make two blades of grass grow where but one has grown before, Kropotkin has done much to earn this laudatory title—it is, indeed, held by many competent to judge, that he has earned it, if this be the qualification, but this is obviously not the place to deal with his scientific achievements.

The French government was perpetually questioned as to his imprisonment, but all to no purpose until, once in a heated moment, M. de Freycinet declared that his release could not be granted “on account of a question of diplomacy.”

This aroused that widespread, popular, and even international clamour before which the strongest government must bow.

“Was Kropotkin to be kept in prison to please the Russian government?” was the question which de Freycinet’s blurted admission placed on every tongue.

Kropotkin as a Struggle-for-Lifer 171

The result was that Kropotkin was released on January 16th, 1886.

Russia, however, does not—YET—bow to popular clamour ; and the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg was treated with such marked discourtesy following on this incident, that he immediately resigned, and returned to Paris.

Kropotkin on his release, returned to England, where he has ever since resided. He was continuously shadowed by Russian agents, but it is impossible to trace any direct action to them. One incident is, however, curious and worthy of note.

In 1887 he published a remarkable book entitled "In Russian and French Prisons," through Messrs. Ward & Downey, who at that time were regarded as a well-established firm. A large edition was prepared, when suddenly the firm ceased to exist and the edition mysteriously disappeared. Only two copies are in existence : one in the British Museum, the other in the Boston Public Library.

Enormous prices were offered for a copy of the book, but all to no purpose ; and this gives much foundation for the assumption that the edition was bought up by agents of the Russian government. That the firm which undertook to publish the book should, at the same time, cease to exist is, to say the least, passing strange.

There is little doubt that the Russian government,

Anarchy

which spared Kropotkin rather than face an exposure of his kidnapping in the *Times*, would go to great lengths rather than place the particulars of his pigeon-holed report on Transbaikalian Prisons in possession of the world—and this was but a tithe of the knowledge of the Russian prison system which Kropotkin acquired at first hand—but beyond this it is not possible to go.

Greatly to the chagrin of the Russian authorities “The Russian and French Prisons” has since been reprinted and has commanded a large sale.

CHAPTER XIX

KROPOTKIN (*continued*)—HIS EXPOSITION OF
ANARCHISM

IF Anarchism is ever to receive the respectful consideration of men wishful to ascertain its aims and objects, it will be because of the inclusion of such a man as Prince Peter Kropotkin among its advocates. He has given hostages to fortune in a life of self-denial and material loss which are convincing proofs of his sincerity. The adoption of Anarchism by him was also by a process of evolution. He had begun life as a reformer, believing in the necessity of those class distinctions which had placed him in an enviable position. For years he had striven and hoped for the amelioration of the conditions he regarded as wrong and tyrannical by those in power. Not until he had come in contact with the appalling conditions of the peasantry in Finland, did he feel convinced that reform must come from the bottom and that the cry of distress must be reinforced by all the methods which can be employed

by despair, before those in authority will unstop their ears and stretch out a helping hand.

But not even then, not, indeed, for several years, and until he had given the matter "profound thought" did he embrace Anarchism as the best way of social salvation. Prince Kropotkin is a profound thinker; his deductions in other directions command the respect and admiration of the world; and, therefore, it will be of use and interest to give a few extracts from his works which will show, briefly, how he reinforces by argument his belief in Anarchism.

He became an Anarchist, he has stated, by studying nature and Nature's laws. In "Modern Science and Anarchism," published by the Social Science Club of Philadelphia, he explains his position as follows: "In the last century Spencer, Huxley, and many others utterly misunderstood the meaning of the struggle for existence. They saw not only a struggle between *different* species of animals, wolves devouring rabbits, etc., but also a desperate struggle for food, for living room, among the different members *within every species*—a struggle which in reality does not assume anything like the proportions they imagined."

The Russian zoölogist Kessler had shown how in nature the law of mutual aid is of greater importance than the law of mutual struggle, and Kropotkin adopts and develops Kessler's theory by applying it to man. Working on Kessler's lines in this additional application, Kropotkin holds: "that mutual aid really appears

not only as the most powerful weapon in the struggle for existence against the hostile forces of nature and all other enemies, but also as the chief factor of progressive evolution."

"Even in the remotest antiquity which is lost in the darkness of the stone age men already lived in societies. In these societies was already developed a whole network of customs, and sacred religiously respected institutions of the communal *regime* or the class which rendered social life possible. And through all the subsequent stages of development we find it was exactly this constructive force of the 'uninformed mob' that worked out new forms of life and new means of mutual support, and the maintenance of peace, as new conditions arose."

"On the other hand, modern science has proved conclusively that Law—whether proclaimed as the voice of a Divine Being or proceeding from the wisdom of a lawgiver—never did anything but prescribe already existing useful habits and customs, and thereby hardened them into unchangeable crystallised forms. And in doing this it always added to the useful customs—generally recognized as such—a few new rules in the interests of the rich, warlike, and armed minority."

"Thou shalt not kill," said the Mosaic law. "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness," and then it added to these excellent injunctions : "Thou

shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, his slave, nor his ass," which injunction legalised slavery, and put woman on the same level as a slave and a beast of burden.

"Love your neighbour," says Christianity later on, but added in the words of Paul, "Slaves, be subject to your masters," and "There is no authority but from God," thereby emphasizing the division of Society into slaves and masters, and sanctifying the authority of the scoundrels who reigned at Rome."

Kropotkin's view in a word is that so long "as *one* portion of Society goes on framing laws for *all* Society and thereby strengthens the power of the State which forms the chief support of Capitalism," social ill and crime will exist and revolutions will be attempted to achieve certain objects. He does not believe in an organized revolt. He believes that discontent will assert itself spasmodically in the shape of strikes, riots, and insurrections and that finally a general revolution will occur. He holds that all great reforms come from the people, and instances in proof of this, the emancipation of the serfs in Russia. The serfs forced on emancipation just as the Irish peasants forced on land legislation by an orgie of outrage.

"You had better have me abolish serfdom from above," said the Czar to the assembled serf-owners, "than have the serfs abolish it from below."

To impose revolutionary schemes by law or force,

as the Socialists advocate, Kropotkin regards as ridiculous.

“ Never in history do we find,” he says, “ that people carried into government by a revolutionary wave, have proved equal to the occasion ; always and everywhere have they fallen below the revolutionary requirements of the moment ; always and everywhere they become an obstacle to the revolution.

“ In proportion as the Socialists become a power in the present *bourgeois* Society and state their Socialism must die out ; otherwise the middle class which are much more powerful both intellectually and numerically than is admitted by the Socialist Press, will not recognise them as their rulers.”

Kropotkin has no fear of a state of chaos should Anarchism be generally adopted. He says that “ groups ” will organise production and consumption and a series of federated communes exist over the land. Everyone shall have full access to land and capital, but by “ capital ” he means the tools of labour and the means to sustain labour while at work.

Kropotkin's published works in various languages fill no fewer than four pages of the British Museum Catalogue. His two principal works on Anarchy are “ Les Paroles d'un Revolté ” and “ La Conquete du Pain.” Both works have had enormous circulations on the Continent, and have won general applause for their striking literary merits. Emile Zola, in a

glowing reference to the later book, which has been recently translated into English, described it as “un vrai poème.”

Kropotkin is a regular contributor on scientific subjects to the *Nineteenth Century*, *Nature*, and the leading encyclopædias, including the “Encyclopædia Britannica” and Chambers’.

He does not regard his simple life at Bromley as being in any sense a seclusion. It is quite in accordance with his estimate of true comfort and happiness. He has full and firm faith in the ultimate realisation of his ideals. He is in no sense a soured or disappointed man. His persecution and imprisonments have left no shadow on his life, nor does he hold them in bitter memory. On the contrary, he is grateful to have contributed his quota towards the emancipation of humanity.

Kropotkin is beyond question one of the greatest men that has ever lived, and his faith is even greater than his greatness.

CHAPTER XX

COUNT LEO TOLSTOI (AN ANARCHIST WHO IS UNMOLESTED
IN RUSSIA)

TOLSTOI is, perhaps, the greatest puzzle among the exponents of Anarchism. He advocates Christianity, which he regards as a beautiful and consoling religion ; and in this respect is a consistent upholder of the doctrine of the non-resistance of evil. Any true disciple of Tolstoi must not only not resist the smiting of one cheek, but must be prepared to willingly submit its fellow to a like treatment.

The simple life with him is a negation of our accepted ideas of comfort. Reputed a revolutionary—with much reason, if his writings are to be understood by plain people—he affirms that he has never urged the peasants to revolt, as it is contrary to the whole of his teachings to employ force. His eccentric humanitarianism, while it causes him to identify himself with his peasant countrymen is still sufficiently leavened with the Catechism injunction to “do my duty in that state of life unto which it hath pleased God to call me,” that he cannot understand why the Russian peasant should wish to be more comfortable.

Anarchy

“ Why,” he asks, “ should a man sleep on a bed if he can do without one by sleeping on the ground ? You would increase their wants and make them luxurious. If a man is happy without a bed, why should he have one ? Marcus Aurelius used to sleep on the ground. Why shouldn’t the Muzhiks ? ”

No capitalist or landlord has ever advanced more callous or ridiculous arguments against the amelioration of the conditions of the workers than the above, and yet Tolstoi is internationally included in the list of front rank Anarchists, Communists, or Revolutionaries according to the whim or lack of knowledge of the writer. It is only when the essayist happens to know something of his life and writings that he is conscious of an illogical complexity which he can only get over by coining that indefinable word—Tolstoyan.

There was a great to-do, it is said, in Russia in 1892 because the Count’s lengthy article advocating many drastic reforms which was published in the *Daily Telegraph*—where it could do no harm—was subsequently published in the *Moscow Gazette*, and might, therefore, have led to a revolt of the peasantry. The world was held in suspense for days, dreading that the Count would be sent to Siberia owing to the action of the Moscow paper ; but the danger passed, and the article was forgotten, the excitement outside Russia being far greater than in Russia.

Count Tolstoi, the retired, simple-life, amateur



COUNT TOLSTOI.

To face page 180.

millionaire-peasant, has the ear of most editors in most countries ; and he is by no means reticent in his views on subjects in general. He declared Ruskin to be a greater man than Gladstone—an opinion which in 1892 would prove a more interesting topic of discussion than the sea-serpent or the giant gooseberry—and America had something to talk about owing to the fact that he pooh-poohed Bellamy.

The true follower of Tolstoi lives like the commonest peasant, and dresses in the universal shirt and bast shoes. His life is that of a communist, and property is held in common by the group to which he is attached, such property being clothes, tools, and the result of their manual labour. Russia has many Tolstoyans—though I doubt if they were influenced by Tolstoi's works, life, or example—and these are almost invariably recruited from the wealthiest classes.

Such persons indicate no acceptance of a particular theory of life ; they are merely in revolt against luxury and turn to poverty from choice. Every country in the world can furnish examples, and although mostly the embracing of poverty is in connection with some religious principle, the main motive is the same.

I regard Tolstoi as a man who is mainly self-deceived. An enormously wealthy man, he preaches a social gospel which differs from Anarchism only in so far as he does not understand Anarchism. His life is theatrical in this respect, that he apes the peasant amid the

Anarchy

surroundings of a prince ; he is an egotist, because he poses as a prince among philosophers, while his environment is that of a peasant.

We, in England, are asked to marvel at the immunity he enjoys in Russia, and we are told that his safety depends on two circumstances ; his wealthy and influential position, and the veneration in which he is held by the peasantry. Such reasons are plausible in England where titles and wealth count for so much, and where popular support is the mainstay of governments ; but a little reflection should prove how ineffective they are when applied to Russia.

Political repression has never stayed its hand in that country on the score of the wealth or family connections of the accused. Prince Peter Kropotkin is a familiar instance, and Siberia can furnish hundreds of others ; while to assume that the peasantry can repel despotism is to controvert the whole theory which we hold, and rightly hold, with regard to the government of that country.

As a matter of fact, Count Tolstoi exerts just as much influence in Russia as Father Ignatius does in England, To the peasants he is simply a very wealthy eccentric landed proprietor, who tells them that to sleep on a bed instead of on the floor “ would increase their wants and make them luxurious.” With the Terrorists, he has neither lot, part, nor sympathy ; and to the Government he is a positive blessing.

Who can say that Russia is despotic and an enemy of Free Speech and Free Opinion, while Tolstoi is within its confines preaching his amiable Communism without let or hindrance.

Tolstoi is not an exploded force only because in Russia he never was a force. The bedless peasant is just as much impressed by his teachings, as the English beggar is by the beauty of Christian charity after the dog has been set on him at the vicarage gates.

And yet Tolstoi preaches Anarchism, and his writings have probably conduced to the spread of its principles in parts of the world. Like Ibsen, he has advocated revolution in our social life, and had he, like the great Norwegian, confined himself to social subjects he would no doubt have exerted a far greater influence.

To explain Anarchism is well-nigh impossible, but to interpret Tolstoi is a still more difficult task. His exposition of the necessity for revolution is as prejudiced, wild, and embittered as that of any of the most irreconcilable of Anarchists. Many statements from his works might be quoted in proof of this, but the following from "The Russian Revolution" is typical :—

"If the rulers were satisfied with their personal debauchery and vices they would not do so much harm ; but idle, satiated, and depraved men, such as rulers were and are, must have something to live for—must have some aims and try to attain them. And

such men can have no aim except to get more and more fame. All other passions soon reach the limits of satiety. Only ambition has no limits, and therefore almost all potentates always strove and strive after fame, especially military fame, the only kind attainable by depraved men unacquainted with, and incapable of, real work. For the wars devised by the potentates, money, armies and, above all, the slaughter of men, are necessary ; and in consequence of this the condition of the ruled becomes harder and harder, and at last the oppression reaches a point at which the ruled can no longer continue to submit to the ruling power, but must try to alter their relation towards it."

It would seem that here was an indictment of the Monarchical system which would justify almost any means taken to uproot it, and it would seem that any system of government founded on the principle of democratic representation must be better. But it is not so, according to Tolstoi. It is when we leave his destructive criticism and seek for his constructive policy that we begin to understand the immunity which he enjoys in Russia. He points out that rebellion against the Monarchical principle in France led to eleven changes of power in eighty years, without any beneficial change to the people.

Even where Republics were successfully established, as in France, America, and Switzerland ; and the Referendum and the Initiative introduced :—

“The only effect of all these measures was that the citizens of these States, participating more and more in power, and being more and more diverted from serious occupations, grew more and more depraved. The calamities from which the people suffered remain, however, exactly the same under Constitutional, Monarchical, or Republican Governments, with or without Referendums.”

* * * * *

“Therefore, among all nations, however they are ruled, whether by the most despotic or most democratic governments, the chief and fundamental calamities from which the people suffer remain the same: the same ever-increasing, enormous budgets, the same animosity towards their neighbours, necessitating military preparations and armies; the same taxes; the same State and private monopolies; the same depriving the people of the right to use the land (which is given to private owners); the same enslaving of subject races; the same constant threatenings of war.”

No wonder the Russian peasant who may be influenced by Tolstoi prefers to endure the ills he knows, than risk exile or death in the endeavour to introduce some new system, which will require him to endure others which he is told are sure to be quite as bad.

Tolstoi pictures the Russian nation as standing, like the hero of the fairy-tale, at the parting of two roads. One points to the East, and the other to the West, and both, according to Tolstoi, lead to destruction.

Pages of this benevolent pessimism lead us nowhere. The fact seems to have been too patent to Tolstoi to ignore, for he boldly heads Chapter IX. of "The Russian Revolution" with the promising question: "What, then, is the Russian nation to do?"

"The natural and simple answer," he goes on, "is to follow neither this path nor that. . . . You must do, not what the Czar, Governor, police-officers, Duma, or some political party demands of you, but what is natural to you as a man, what is demanded of you by that Power which sent you into the world—the Power most people are accustomed to call God."

The Russian peasant who is asked to flout the Czar and at the same time to abjure force, would soon make acquaintance with the knout. Tolstoyan Anarchism is only possible in a new country where no government exists. It can do no harm, even in Russia; as a revolutionary theory it is quite impossible. It should, in a word, be ranked as one of the religions of the world, and not as a political proposition.

CHAPTER XXI

WILLIAM MORRIS—ARTIST, POET, AND ANARCHIST

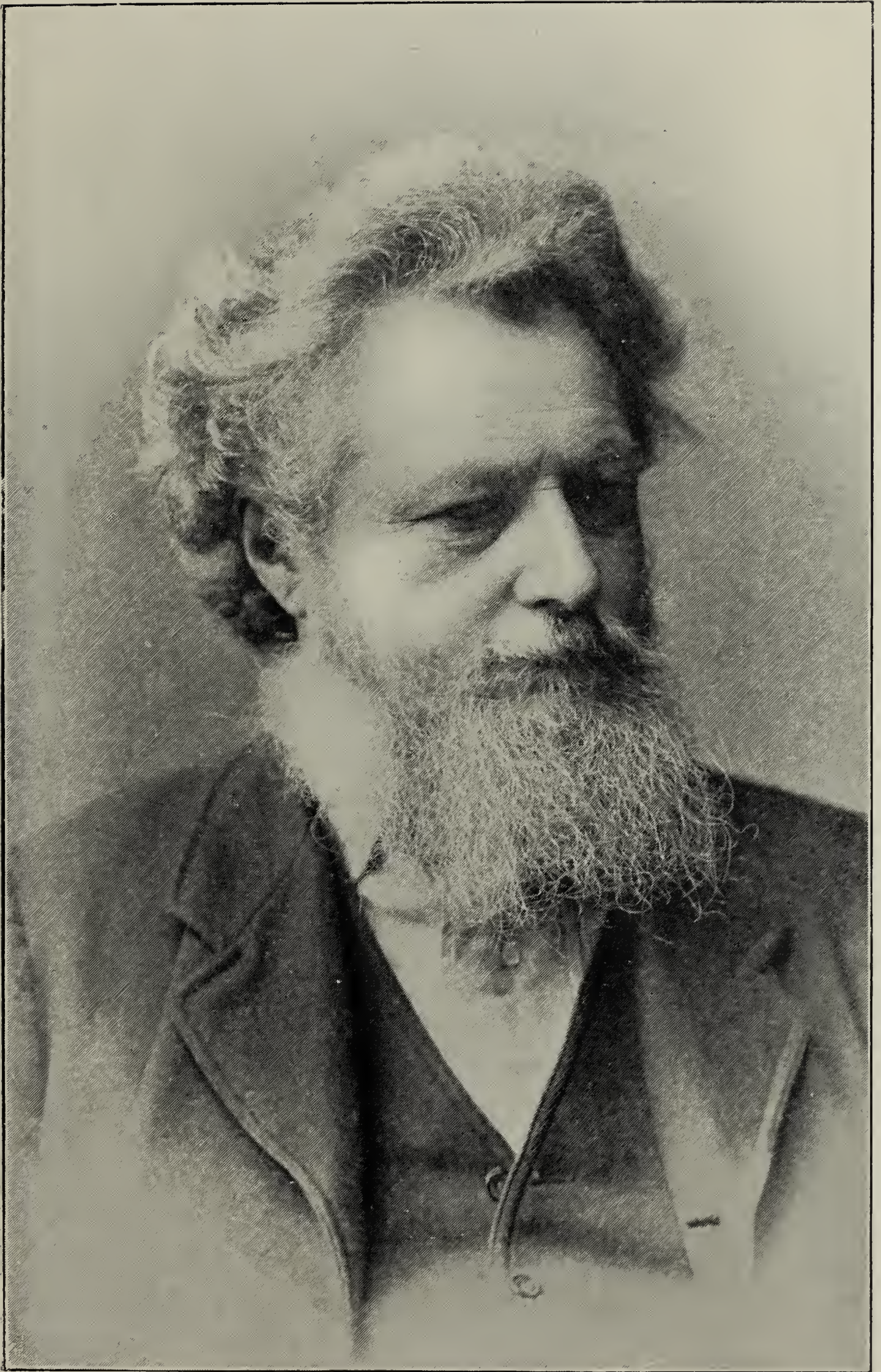
WILLIAM MORRIS was a poet and an artist who took a deep and sympathetic interest in life, and believed that happiness would be general if Anarchism prevailed. He regarded crime as merely a disease of poverty; and with the abolition of property, as wealth and poverty would alike disappear, there could be no incitement to crime and it must disappear in their wake. In his novel, "News from Nowhere" (which was written as a counterblast to Bellamy's "Looking Backward"), he pictured the Utopia of his dreams. In this we find that he does not anticipate an utter absence of transgression, but when there is no punishment to evade, remorse, which must overtake the evil-doer, will act as a deterrent.

Of course, in Morris's "Nowhere," there were no Parliaments, no law-courts, no laws, no policemen, no soldiers, no notices against trespassers (not one of any of the things we now constantly run up against), which, as Morris would have it, circumscribe our liberty.

Morris was an intellectual, level-headed man ; the artist who, above all others, taught the combination of beauty with utility in art ; a good companion, brilliant conversationalist, and practical man of the world ; and his " News from Nowhere " is the sanest, fullest, most comprehensive and most courageous exposition of Anarchism in this or any other language.

What would Anarchism lead to ? is the question most people will ask who strive to grasp this intangible, apparently incomprehensible, system. Morris answers the question fully, picturing England—which is " Nowhere "—under Anarchism, in a frank and logical attempt to depict the changes which must ensue in life, thought, and conditions in the event of the present constitution giving place to Anarchy.

Needless to say, Morris was not a believer in violent methods. The only subjects of his attack were ugliness, filth, squalor, and meanness. These he would drive out of existence by any and every means in his power. Morris is generally referred to as a Socialist, and consequently one reads even in the *Review of Reviews* (November, 1896) the absurd criticism that " he was no scientific thinker, like Karl Marx." Between the conditions which Morris sets up as ideal in his land of " Nowhere " and those which would obtain on the principles enunciated by Marx, there would be as much difference as between them and England under a Liberal or Tory government. To show how even such



WILLIAM MORRIS.

To face page 188.

well-informed writers as Mr. Stead confuse Anarchism with Socialism, it is only necessary to point out that on the same page, "News from Nowhere" is described as a poet's "vision of an Anarchical millennium." This description is perfectly accurate, but Mr. Stead is mistaken in thinking that Socialism and Anarchism are, in any sense, interchangeable terms.

Morris, at all times a courageous advocate of his views, was no lover of notoriety, and the most prominent position he ever occupied in public affairs was as one of the committee formed to vindicate the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square.

The running of the Communist organ, the *Commonweal*, was, however, more in accordance with Morris's idea of propagandist work than the rough and tumble of street agitation. This paper for a long time after it started was quiet and literary in tone, which displeased the violent section of the Anarchists who assumed its control by the right of conquest, by taking forcible possession of the plant and type.

Eventually it was edited by Nichol, under whose crazy control it became notorious for violent denunciations of individuals and insane incitements to violence.

William Morris died at Hammersmith on 3rd October, 1896, and in the *Fortnightly Review* for November Mr. Mackenzie Bell wrote of him :—

"In William Morris we have lost a poet of supreme

excellence ; an artist and designer of exquisite skill ; a master of English prose whose style is rare in its delicacy, rich in its beauty ; a scholar who had more learning of the dry-as-dust kind than many whose sole claim to celebrity arises from this source, and who in addition brought to his scholarly work a luminous imagination of the first order ; an ever active worker, whom all who really understood him (whether they agree with his views or not) must admit to have had pure, lofty aims and ennobling purposes."

With this estimate no one will disagree ; while those who are intimate with his life and works will regard it as even dispassionately fair.

Morris left instructions that no mourning was to be worn for him ; and the coffin containing his body was, in accordance with his wishes, conveyed to the graveside on a hay-cart.

CHAPTER XXII

LOUISE MICHEL, THE " RED VIRGIN " OF REVOLUTION

LOUISE MICHEL, " the Red Virgin " of the Commune, was born in 1839. Her life was a paradox in this respect that she deservedly inspired love and fear in equal degree. The woman who endeavoured to meet the Emperor Napoleon to assassinate him, convinced that " tyrants are doomed to die ; no pity can be shown them," so won the confidence of the rats in her cell in New Caledonia that the mother-rats brought their little ones directly they had weaned them and laid them at her feet as if to seek her protection for them.

Her childhood was such as to inspire a girl imbued with a romantic temperament, with weird unconventional ideas. Louise, a love-child, was born in a ruined old castle, set in the midst of a country rich in legendary lore. She lived with her mother, her aunt, her grandfather, and her two grandmothers. The child, surrounded by people so much older than herself, was thrown for companionship on the animals

with which the house was literally swarmed. There were great grey wolf-hounds and dogs of many other kinds, an army of cats who had entered on a truce of peace with the mice, who swarmed to such an extent that the cats could not repel them. The birds, too, enjoyed equal immunity for, perhaps, a somewhat similar reason. Swallows, sparrows, bats and larks, haunted the castle in thousands. The place was, indeed, literally a menagerie ; and the special pets of the child Louise included a tortoise, a wolf, several hares, an owl, a partridge, and some bats and quails.

So deeply was the child imbued with a love and sympathy for her furred and feathered friends, that she was ten years old before her mother could get her to taste meat of any kind.

In these early days she took the part of the oppressed against the oppressor, for whenever she was unable to secure the liberation of imprisoned larks and linnets by purchasing their freedom by parting with her toys, she rescued them by force. " I took advantage," she wrote, " of my strength over younger children, an excusable action on my part, seeing that by so acting I was placing my strength at the service of right."

Louise Michel was a believer in mysticism and possessed unusual psychic powers herself. She was, however, even as a child, too keenly logical to accept anything without proof ; and she was, perhaps, rather precipitate in concluding that where the required



LOUISE MICHEL.

To face page 192.

proof was not forthcoming the statement under test must be untrue. Thus, when she summoned the devil to appear in the haunted castle, using the approved forms of invocation, and Satan did not appear, she concluded that there was no devil; and from this time forward all Louise's devils appeared to her in human guise. She watched night after night at the Lady's Well near the Castle for the spectral washer-women who were said to patronise it; and it was with a scornful lack of surprise that she solved the mystery of the lively Will o' th' Wisp. But her final disillusionment was the prosaic exposure of the holy hermit of Cara. This mysterious, and, as some thought, mythical person was reputed to be engaged in prayer all day that the villagers might be preserved from the preying of a certain wicked bandit by night. When at length it was discovered that the hermit and the bandit were one and the same person, Louise lost all faith in the local legends; and later in life she made the story of the bandit-hermit the subject of one of her sardonically-humorous poems.

With the return of her cousin Jules from school, a great change was wrought in the life of the girl. For the first time in her life she had an intimate playmate of her own age. From her grandfather she had imbibed an ardent devotion for the Republic and the Revolution, and this was intensified by her reading of Lamennaise's "Les Paroles d'un Croyant." She read it with two

girls of the village, and she records, "its pages were soaked with our tears."

Jules shared in all Louise's pursuits, whether they were wild gambols under the cherry trees, or immature transports in laudation of the longed-for Revolution. They re-arranged Victor Hugo's dramas, so that they were enabled to enact all the characters themselves ; and then they arranged dramatic *tableaux* "out of their own heads" founded on the bloodiest scenes of the Reign of Terror. They transformed the wooden pile in the yard of the Castle into a scaffold, furnished with an imaginary guillotine. This they ascended, going bravely to a supposed death in defence of *la Republique*, and the Republican grandfather encouraged their ideas by stage-managing these childish performances.

Had Louise only pursued this period of her life to its conventional close, fallen in love with her cousin Jules, and in due time married him, history would have been lacking in many of its most stirring pages ; her life would have been more peaceful, but probably not happier. Fate, however, willed it otherwise. Her grandparents died when she was fourteen years old ; and under the care of her aunt Victoire she went through a course of training to qualify as a teacher—a vocation which, throughout life, was a passion with her. As a mere girl she taught in France ; as a convict she taught in New Caledonia ; and as an

old woman she spent her last days as a teacher in London.

She was an avowed revolutionist before revolution was in the air, when she started her career as a teacher. Pupils came in goodly numbers, but the young teacher soon found herself in conflict with the authorities. This was not to be wondered at, for she taught her scholars to sing the "Marseillaise" every morning at the opening of school; and soon they all became such avowed rebels against Imperialism under the influence of the eccentric young teacher that to her delight they "often sang it, with tears, upon their knees." At the Audeloncourt Church, too, which Louise attended with her pupils on Sunday, no sooner were the opening notes of the "Domine Salvum fac Napoleonem" struck than the teacher and the pupils left the church, the sabots of the latter "making on the flagstones of the church a pretty little noise somewhat similar to a shower of hailstones." When, in addition to this, the eccentric young schoolmistress wrote occasional articles for the newspapers in which uncomplimentary descriptions of Domitian were applied to Napoleon, the wonder is, not that the authorities were more than once in conflict with Louise, but that they allowed her to keep her school open. It was probably her youth saved her, as at this time she was not yet eighteen years of age. That she was as strong and forceful in her views and in her will then as in later life, is a proof

that the revolutionary spirit was inborn with her ; and one cannot withhold admiration from the character of a girl dependent on her school for her livelihood, who, apart from all considerations of self-interest, felt bound to teach her little pupils “ that it was wicked and sacrilegious for any one to attend the prayers offered up for the man of December.”

In 1855 Louise Michel, then eighteen years of age, came to Paris as an assistant teacher to a Madame Volliers. At this time she was a firm believer in the Republic, the institution of which she thought would free an oppressed people. She hated the Empire, but at this time she was not an Anarchist. The fact that she was willing, even as a Constitutionalist, to hasten the wished-for change by assassination is a proof that this, the most terrible form of outrage, is not characteristic of any particular school of thought, but depends wholly on the eccentric logic of the individual. In Louise Michel's fearful justification of political assassination which I am about to quote she can no more be identified with Ravachol and Moral than with Charlotte Corday.

“ Have you ever,” she wrote, “ seen a viper whose neck has been severed ? The head and the trunk writhe and move about as if trying to come together again. You feel grieved and sorry for the suffering thus inflicted on the reptile, but your reason furnishes an implacable argument against pity. Had not the

viper been destroyed it might have bitten some person. Once on the hill on which our vineyard was situated some huntsmen drove a she-wolf at bay. The unfortunate beast, holding its young ones between its paws, was howling pitifully. Notwithstanding all my entreaties I could not induce them to spare its life. The mercy that as a child I sought for the she-wolf I should not seek for some men who are more cruel than wolves for their fellow-creatures. To strike down men personally responsible for the slavery and oppression of a whole nation there can be no more hesitation than to destroy a viper or to knock down the poor she-wolf with her young ones. Tyrants are doomed to die ; no pity can be shown them. Such has always been my opinion, and should the occasion offer I should not hesitate to enforce it."

But although Louise Michel justified assassination in those unqualified terms, she never carried her dreadful doctrines into practice, and has been credited with much that could not truthfully be laid to her charge. Thus, on her return from New Caledonia it was said that she whispered to M. Rochefort, who met her on the platform, " The pig is fat ; it is time he was killed ! " —the allusion being to the corpulent M. Gambetta. M. Rochefort, however, denied that there was any truth in the story. It is, however, beyond dispute that during the Commune she offered to go to Versailles to assassinate M. Thiers, well knowing that if

her offer was accepted she would pay forfeit for the mission with her own life. The desire to kill Napoleon was conceived at a time when, although hardened into an advocate of assassination, she held some curious reservations as to the methods which might be justifiably employed. This is her own account of it, written years afterwards :—

“ I do not know what task Fate has sent me, but now, as in the days of my youth, I am fully prepared to perform it. During the latter years of the Empire the terrible strophes of Victor Hugo were ever crossing my mind :—

‘ Harmodius, c’est la heure

Tu peux frapper cet homme avec tranquillité.’

I should have done it, for the death of that man would have saved the lives of millions of other men. When I was assistant schoolmistress somebody had promised to secure for me an interview with the tyrant. For in those days I did not like the idea of soliciting an audience even from Bonaparte in order to kill him. I should not now, however, be so scrupulous. It was not till a long time after that my friends succeeded in obtaining me the promised letter of introduction, but it came too late. The Emperor had gone to the seat of war.”

Louise Michel took her first conspicuous part in

French politics by organizing the petition praying for the release of Endes and Brideau, who were in prison for proclaiming the Republic before Sedan. She, with others, carried this petition to General Trochu, Governor of Paris, but they were refused admission. They refused to go, saying they had come in the name of the people of Paris ; and eventually Trochu consented to receive the petition.

Armed revolt drew Louise Michel, enthusiastic and unfaltering, into its ranks on January 22nd, when the Breton troops fired on the defenceless crowd from the windows of the Hotel de Ville.

“ Six days afterwards,” she writes, “ the Government having shot down the people, and proclaimed aloud that they had no intention of surrendering, the capitulation of Paris was signed. The wrath aroused in the people by that fresh act of treason was not allowed to subside.”

She plunged at once into the work of the Committees formed to assist the government of National Defence ; and not content with shouldering a rifle, she wore the uniform of a National Guard. In the awful struggle which ensued she practically courted danger, identifying herself with every risk in which men shared. In fact, there being two Watch Committees at Montmartre, one of men, and one of women, she always attended the former. The success of the Commune was due to the non-intervention of the troops, and this

was due in turn—according to Louise Michel—to the women.

“The army,” she wrote, “fraternised with the people instead of shooting them down. That triumph of the popular cause is perhaps chiefly due to the intervention of the women, who covered the artillery with their own bodies, and even placed themselves at the muzzles of the guns, to prevent the latter being fired.”

When the struggle was at its fiercest which ended in the crushing of the Commune, Louise Michel, conscious of the coming overthrow of her hopes, unavailingly courted death. With merely a handful of comrades, the defence of Montmartre Cemetery was attempted. The shells were flying thickly into the enclosure, and her comrades begged Louise to protect herself behind such shelter as was obtainable. But she persisted in “reconnoitring,” “but,” she complains, with a touch of pathos, “as before, the bursting shells missed me.”

As a result of her zeal for the Commune, Louise was transported to New Caledonia. The ship lying at anchor awaiting her, was familiar to her in every detail; in colour, rigging, build and everything. As a child she had seen it often in that clairvoyant vision which was a faculty with her through life; and frequently in the intervening years she had also seen it. She never lost heart at any period of her career, but this meeting with the ship of her waking dreams,

was one of those experiences which made her a fatalist. Prisoner of war, exiled convict, whatever it was to be, was ordained from the first.

She was the solace and comfort of her unfortunate companions, cheering the dejected and nursing the sick. On reaching her destination she resumed her vocation as a schoolmistress and became so devoted to her Kanaka scholars that the amnesty, when it was proclaimed, was not to her an unmixed joy. She found congenial occupation in collecting the Kanaka folk-tales ; and in bringing about a *rapprochement* between the cats and rats of New Caledonia.

The cats are a rather unusual breed. They have shorter fore-legs and longer hind-legs than the European breed ; and are descended from some cats left in the country by English sailors in the eighteenth century. She brought four of these home with her after the amnesty, and the sad fate of one of them illustrates the wonderful confidence and affection she was able to inspire in animals. Returning on one occasion from London, a cat which was on the top of the house saw her getting out of the cab, and in its eagerness to reach her attempted to descend from balcony to balcony. Missing its hold from the third balcony, it fell into the street, and was killed at the feet of its mistress.

From this period, her faith in Republicanism being wholly shattered, she was a devoted Anarchist, and her history is little more than a series of imprisonments.

Anarchy

She believed wholly in that doctrine of individualism which regards as a species of tyranny the notion that any person should be forced to accept the views or bow to the rules imposed by others. So far did she carry this doctrine, that when a drunken man fired a revolver at her and wounded her, she appeared in court to testify in his favour. She held that he was in a somnambulistic state, and he was acquitted.

She made London her home, and started an International School, which at one time enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity ; and she carried on her hopeless evangel by preaching Anarchism at Hyde Park meetings and the squalid " clubs " of Anarchist groups. In connection with her school she experienced a painful shock by the discovery that the secretary was a police spy and that it was mainly on his evidence the Walsall Anarchists were arrested and convicted. Her school, too, was sufficiently successful in the inculcation of Anarchistic principles, that the scholars mostly exercised the privilege of individual liberty in refusing to submit to the tyranny of paying fees.

On the collapse of her school, Louise returned to France, and was supported in her old age by anonymous friends. After a long and painful illness she died in 1904, at Lyons.

Louise Michel was a personality which defies analysis. It would be easy to dismiss the task by saying she was mad ; but it would not be true. She dreamed of that

greater than a Republic, the Commune, and she did much—how much we can only surmise—to see it achieved, and it was achieved. In her later years, dragging her weary steps along the back streets of Soho, she appeared to be merely “a crazy, dirty old woman”—the description was applied to her—and even to those not given to superficial and unfeeling judgments, she was at best but a dreamer of wild dreams, a fanatical advocate of that utterly hopeless thing, the unacceptable. But to try to understand Louise Michel it is necessary to enter on an imaginative quest, and build up the career and the life which would have been hers had the Commune not been overthrown ; and to try and understand her ideals one would have to imagine a France in whose history the subsequent pages were not written.

CHAPTER XXIII

JOHN MORRISON DAVIDSON—ON ANARCHY AND
ASSASSINATION

THE most famous and certainly the most learned Anarchist of British birth is the well-known journalist and author, John Morrison Davidson. He was born on July 31st, 1843, at Fetterangus, near Buchan, Aberdeenshire, and rejoices in being a " Scot of the Scots " as well as an internationalist. Like his famous brother, the late Professor Thomas Davidson, of Harvard University, U.S.A., his unusual intellect excited attention at an age when most boys are mastering the intricacies of cricket. He became assistant master of the school at Buchan at the age of 14, and by the time he reached sixteen young Davidson was regarded as a leading Radical light by the advanced politicians of Aberdeenshire, on account of his famous leaders in the *Peterhead Sentinel*, to which he regularly contributed. Davidson next became a student at Aberdeen University, read for the Scotch Bar, married before he was twenty, and attracted the attention of Lord Rosebery,

whom he imbued with the views that made his lordship, in after years, so conspicuous as a municipal reformer !

From his earliest years Davidson was the pride and despair of his masters and professors. To this day he recalls with pride the consternation he caused when he, at the age of thirteen, gravely contended that Milton was a greater poet than Shakespeare because he was a Republican ! Davidson's early manhood was spent in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where he was engaged as a schoolmaster and filled up his spare time in writing for the leading Scotch and English papers. In 1877 he came to London and was called to the English Bar, but never practised, for even in his " Radical days " Davidson regarded the law as a dishonest profession. He was not long in London before he was appointed assistant editor of the eighth edition of the " Encyclopædia Britannica " and his contributions to the Radical Press made his name famous in Radical and Revolutionary circles. Study and reflection caused him eventually to relinquish Radicalism for Socialism, and ultimately he became an avowed Anarchist, because he holds Anarchism to be the essence of Christianity applied to daily life.

Christians who really follow Christ and understand His teachings must be Anarchists, Davidson contends, and he holds that the State and government in all forms is the personification of Anti-Christ ! In a

Anarchy

remarkable article written on the day King Humbert was assassinated and published in *Reynold's Newspaper* on August 5th, 1900, Davidson thus defines his views on "Anarchy : True and False ! "

He says : " And let me say, in the first place, that those who ignorantly or wilfully seek to associate Anarchy with assassination are without excuse ; for of all the *isms* true Anarchism is the farthest removed from any form of violence. Properly understood, Anarchy is neither more nor less than *applied* Christianity in all its primitive purity. But, needless to say, it is not properly understood by the desperate men who seek to propagate its principles by bomb, revolver, and dagger. Comtism, it has been said, is Roman Catholicism with God left out. In like way the Anarchy of a Santo, a Lucchenni, or a Bresci is Christianity with its distinctive element, *Love* (even for evildoers), left out and Terrorism put in its place. And just as the Communistic Anarchy taught by Christ is the best of all systems ever propounded or likely to be propounded in this world, so is Materialistic Anarchy the most abhorrent. The one is God's Anarchy, the other the Devil's.

But there is yet another Anarchy worse by many degrees than that of Lucchenni, Ravachol, or Bresci—namely, the Anarchy of the German Kaiser, Queen Victoria's hopeful grandson, who but yesterday actually gave to a horde of his Vikings sailing for China the

memorable watchword : “ Christ and No Quarter ! ”
Such is the Imperial interpretation of the dicta of the Master, “ If My kingdom were of this world (Age) then would My servants fight.” “ Put up the sword : for they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.”

In truth, Society, so-called Christian Society, trusts to precisely the same weapons of the flesh as the Materialistic Anarchist. Nay, the one lesson the State inculcates above all others is that there is no remedy but force !

The Christian Anarchist, therefore, is alone in a position to talk to the Anarchist of violence, or even to the State or Coercionist Socialist in the gate. To the ethic of *force* he opposes the ethic of *love*
In slaying the King of Italy, let it not be overlooked that Bresci has shown, when all is said, only how very well he has learned the very first lesson of the States—*De Fide Propaganda*—namely, that there is no remedy except *force* !

If, for example, the misguided man in the military livery of the British Empire had gallantly gone forth to war and superintended the massacre of thousands of miserably-fleeced Egyptian fellaheen, or of half-armed Soudanese Dervishes in the interests of the Hon. Mr. Shylock and his usurious shekels, he would have been a hero of the first water and his reward a peerage and £25,000. His Grace of Canterbury would, moreover, have chimed in with a lusty *Te Deum*

Laudamus, and Church as well as State would have pronounced him blessed. As it is, Bresci has assassinated one man, not in the interests of Dives, but of Lazarus (as he imagined), and he is all but universally denounced as an unspeakable monster of iniquity !

Well, be it so ; but accepting, as I do, *simpliciter* the teaching of the Nazarene on the question of force, I still say, as a moral agent, that I would a thousand times rather stand at this hour in the shoes of Bresci, than in those of Brigand Roberts, Kitchener, Buller, Rundle, Hunter, Macdonald, or other, more or less, especially less, efficient murderer and freebooter now engaged in the devastation of the Transvaal.

* * * * * * *

“ What are we to conclude ? ” asks Davidson, and then quotes Tolstoi in saying :— “ To utilise violence is impossible ; it would only cause reaction. To join the ranks of the Government is also impossible—one would only become its instrument. One course, therefore, remains—to fight the Government by means of thoughts, speech, actions, life, neither yielding to government nor joining its ranks, thereby increasing its power.

“ This alone is needed ; it will certainly be successful. But, it is usually asked, what will there be instead of governments ?

“ There will be nothing. Something that has long been useless, and therefore superfluous and bad will

be abolished. An organ that, being unnecessary, had become harmful will be removed."

"And this is the will of God, the teaching of Christ."
"Verily," concludes Davidson, "The State is the Evil."

Davidson has published a large number of books dealing with historical and political questions. In advanced circles he is known as the "Historian of the Poor," and it is claimed that one of his works, entitled : "The Old Order and the New," published in 1892, has made more Socialists than any book ever printed. His writings, it is generally admitted, inspired Bellamy to write "Looking Backward." While engaged in his historical researches some time ago, he discovered that long before Prudhon was born, a Scotch writer named Godwin propounded definite Anarchist theories, and Davidson as a Scotsman is naturally proud of the fact. Davidson is a familiar figure in Fleet Street, and although a man of great learning, speaks with a marked Scotch accent. He rarely wears a collar, and frequently disports himself in a Scotch cap or "Tam o' Shanter." No one who knows Davidson ever doubts his honesty, no matter how much they may disagree with his views, which he expresses courageously but somewhat dogmatically.

Tolstoi holds him in great admiration, and perhaps the proudest moment in the life of the "Historian of the Poor" was when he received on his sixty-third

Anarchy

birthday the following letter from the “Master,” on account of certain articles which had appeared in *Reynolds’ Newspaper*, and were afterwards published in book form, entitled “The Son of Man.”

“DEAR FRIEND,—I have received your very remarkable letter and book, ‘The Son of Man.’ I have read it with the same feeling with which I read all your books—the feeling that it is just what I would have said on the same matter, but better and more energetically said.

“Your opinion [adverse] of our Duma is, I regret to say, quite true. I hope that the fallacy of all this thing will be soon clear to everybody, and we Russians will go another road.—With best wishes, yours truly,

“LEO TOLSTOI.”

CHAPTER XXIV

ENRICO MALATESTA—THE REAL MAN AND THE
NEWSPAPER BOGEY

WHEN newspapers do agree their unanimity is wonderful. With one accord they have agreed to regard Enrico Malatesta as “that grim figure” behind Anarchism, the fount of its most appalling ideas, the inspirer of the most hideous crimes associated with it. Probably, his name has something to do with this unenviable and undeserved notoriety. It goes trippingly off the tongue, and sticks in the memory; while the most cursory knowledge of Italian enables one to understand or guess at its sinister literal significance—just as purely an adventitious circumstance as, let us say, the English “Fowler,” which not infrequently is the name of some one who never fired a gun; or “Baker,” which may refer to some one who never baked a loaf. As I have already stated in the preface, Malatesta—who has for years been a respected resident in London, shunning rather than courting notoriety—might easily have repelled and stopped the publication

Anarchy

of these slanders by invoking the assistance of the law, but a firm believer in the doctrine of non-resistance, the fundamental principle of the philosophy of Anarchism, he declines to avail himself of the aid of an institution which he believes should not exist.

It is unnecessary to deal with Malatesta's views on Anarchism; they are identical with those held by Kropotkin and all other educated Anarchists, in common with whom he discountenances all forms of violence while refusing to sit in judgment on the individual who, looking for the millennium with other eyes, believes he can hasten it by other methods. Malatesta's life is a record of the giving of hostages to fortune in support of his views, and a brief resumé of his career will be the best means of securing such additional exposition of the mysteries of Anarchism as he is competent to afford.

In 1870 he was a student at the University of Naples, being intended for the medical profession; but he was already an advanced revolutionist and was taking an active part in the International Association of Workers. To influence his workmen comrades, and also because of his belief in the paramount importance of labour as opposed to capitalism, he went with a few fellow-students to work in an engineering factory so as to learn a trade as well as a profession. It was therefore as a fellow-workman, and not as a medical



ENRICO MALATESTA.

To face page 212.

student, that he made his early public appearances as an advocate of the brotherhood of man, and an opponent of tyranny. Even in these early days Malatesta was a speaker of exceptional ability and magnetic power, but he found that with large audiences he was best able to win their confidence by exhibiting his hands grimy and hardened from the work in which he daily engaged.

The authorities regarded the young enthusiasts as Utopians and dreamers, and actually lent them the Municipal Halls free of charge for the holding of their meetings. They no doubt believed that their enthusiasm would soon wear itself out, but in this they were mistaken. The success of the revolutionary movement which had been started by Malatesta and his comrades alarmed the authorities, who withdrew their patronage and commenced a series of prosecutions. The result of this change of front was that Malatesta was obliged to discontinue his studies when in a short time he would have been able to take his degree, and leave his college.

This persecution only intensified Malatesta's ardour, and he at once joined Bakunine and the more violent exponents of Anarchism in a revolutionary agitation which was carried on all over Europe. In 1887 Malatesta, with Stepniak and Count Carlo Caffiero, a very wealthy man who devoted his whole fortune to the cause of Anarchism, got together a band of Anarchist

desperadoes who succeeded in taking possession of the City of Benevento. Seizing the municipal buildings they distributed such money and treasure as they contained to the inhabitants. Their triumph was, however, but short-lived, as the Government sent no fewer than 30,000 troops to suppress the "insurrection." As the insurgent army numbered but thirty men all told, the complete assertion of law and order was very easily enforced.

The little band of revolutionists were kept in prison for over a year without being brought to trial, but on the death of Victor Emanuel, in 1878, a general amnesty was proclaimed by King Humbert and they were set at liberty.

Malatesta never desisted from revolutionary agitation, and was in consequence frequently prosecuted, and many times found it expedient to seek shelter in other countries. During one of these absences he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, which practically closed Italy against him, except at the risk of losing his freedom. Notwithstanding this risk he returned to Naples during the epidemic of cholera in 1884 to render what assistance he could. The authorities rewarded his courage and disinterestedness by suspending the sentence against him, and by granting him the provisional degree of doctor, so that he might utilise his medical knowledge in the work of relief.

When the cholera scourge was got under, Malatesta

went to South America, where he engaged in newspaper work. In fact, not until 1893 was he actively concerned in the Anarchistic movement, although then, as now, every specially violent act associated with it, no matter in what part of the world it took place, was ascribed to him. In 1893 he happened to be in Spain, and as an insurrection happened to break out in Xeres while he was in the country, the Spanish Government naturally connected it with his unwelcome visit and proclaimed him as the prime mover in it. As such he was condemned to death, but he managed to evade arrest, and after some exciting adventures succeeded in making his escape from the country. He sought an asylum in London, where he decided on settling down ; a Hobsonian choice in the circumstances, as the government of practically every Continental country was desirous of making his future its especial concern.

The fever of his revolutionary ardour was destined to wean Malatesta in a short time from the safety of his seclusion, and throw him once more into the forefront of revolutionary activity. Towards the end of 1893 an insurrection took place in Sicily, and after resisting its allurements for some time, Malatesta, with his friends Merlino and Cipriani, joined the insurgents. The insurrection had by this time proved abortive, so that the Sicilian adventure may be regarded as more or less of a holiday excursion. It is, however, worth mention in passing that Merlino, one of Malatesta's

companions, is now a foremost advocate at the Court of Cassation in Rome.

In 1897 Malatesta returned to Italy and was unmolested by the Government. He founded a paper called *L'Agitazioni* at Ancona, in which he fearlessly expounded his views. In England such a paper would be regarded as harmless, or at all events its existence would not have been hampered by police interference, for it steered clear of any incitement to outrage ; and it seemed as if a similar tolerant attitude would be adopted by the Italian authorities, but on the outbreak of yet another insurrection, Malatesta was held to have been guilty of incitement and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the Correctional Court. He was transported to the Island of Lampedusa, to serve this term, and from here he managed to escape to Tunis. From there he made his way to Malta, and from thence he once more reached his English asylum in safety.

Malatesta's sentence of six months was exceptionally lenient, and was no doubt largely due to his immense popularity in Italy. In the insurrectionary movement in which it was alleged he had taken part, Members of the Italian Parliament and prominent politicians such as Turati, de Andreas, and Chiesa were implicated, and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from twelve to twenty years. Malatesta's trial extended over a week, and during

the period it lasted, thousands of people paraded the streets in the vicinity of the courts loudly demanding his release. No fewer than fourteen of the most prominent advocates of the Italian Bar, representing various shades of opinions, volunteered to defend him, and most of them were actually engaged in his defence at the trial. Malatesta himself made a speech which lasted over four hours, which was, it is generally conceded, a masterpiece of eloquence. These various factors no doubt account for the extreme leniency with which he was treated.

The career of Malatesta represents all that is best in Anarchism. His pamphlets in advocacy of its principles are published in almost every known language, including those so widely apart as Armenian and Japanese. He has never recanted a single statement he has avowed, and he has lived up to what he has advocated. Although he inherited considerable landed property from his father, he has always steadfastly refused to accept a penny from this source and has all through his life worked for his living. To most people such a decision must appear quixotic and absurd, but they must confess that it is magnificent.

When he returned a few years since to his estates in Italy, the peasants who had been living for so many years free from the incubus of a landlord were much perturbed. Even Anarchists may get cured of their quixotism, and they feared that Malatesta had returned

Anarchy

to assert his legal rights. He quickly re-assured them, and they have continued ever since in undisturbed possession of their holdings, blessing Providence, no doubt, that Anarchism had been invented to give them such a landlord.

He has been many times requested to accept a seat in the Italian Parliament, but to all such overtures he has turned a deaf ear, as the acceptance of any such position would be entirely opposed to Anarchism.

Even in his choice of a vocation he has invoked Anarchism, and acted in accordance with its principles. Highly educated, and with an extensive knowledge of the world, many and easy means of earning a lucrative livelihood are open to him, but he has chosen to earn his living by the sweat of his brow and the labour of his hands as an engineer, electrician, and smith.

His educational attainments and varied knowledge he devotes without fee or hope of material reward to the propaganda of Anarchism. He is always ready to do his share in the spread of the principles he so single-mindedly and whole-heartedly believes in; and in accordance with this self-imposed mission he has been a delegate to almost every international congress of workers which has been held since the initiation of the movement.

Such is the man Enrico Malatesta—the real Malatesta—differing in every essential particular from the unreal Malatesta, the sinister figure behind every

Anarchist crime and outrage, which is a mere bogey invented by the penny-a-liner who is free to misrepresent, malign and abuse a man who will not defend himself by the only methods which such libellers could appreciate or understand.

CHAPTER XXV

WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST—BY ANTONIO MALVOLIO

THIRTY-FIVE years ago I was born close to Catania, in the beautiful island of Sicily. My parents were peasants *contadini*, people who rented a small plot of land and who after they paid their rent had barely sufficient food. Consequently they had to frequently beg from tourists and others to keep themselves alive. I grew up a strong child, and I remember how my mother burst out crying one festa day, when I was about six years old, because the Madonna gave her no *luck* with her children, they were all strong and well and would have to work in the sulphur mines, and when they grew old enough join the army; whereas her sister Fortunata, who had married a mason at Catania, had only one boy who had the good fortune to be born with a withered arm and would consequently be able to beg for his living with assured success!

When I was eight my father was behindhand with his rent and the difficulty was got over by *me* being indentured to a padrone, who gave my parents

thirty-five shillings in English money, and who in return undertook to teach me a trade and supply me with board and lodging.

This he did by letting me out to the company that control the sulphur mines and possess a monopoly of the chemicals that are ejected by the great volcano Etna.

The conditions of life in these mines were terrible. Overseers and workmen alike were pitiless brutes, their brutality being engendered by the relentless manner in which they were driven by the mine owners in their greed for profits. When I was ten I ran away and eventually obtained employment as a kitchen-boy at a large hotel at Messina, where I thought I was in heaven, as, for the first time in my life, I had a sufficiency of food through being allowed to eat the scraps left on the plates by the guests.

The cook one winter season was a Frenchman, who spoke Italian and the Sicilian dialect, the latter being the only language I then knew. He was a Socialist and he used to tell me of the good time coming when the State would own everything. This was a revelation to me, because until then every one I had heard talking, workmen, peasants, and even the owner of the hotel, were always cursing the taxes and pointing out how the State took nearly everything they earned.

When I became older I picked up some knowledge of cooking and got employed in different hotels in Sicily. In the winter, the tourist season, I often went

to Calabria and I used to wonder where all the elegantly dressed people used to get the money they lavished, so little did I realise at that period that their wealth and luxury was the result of the poverty and misery of the class to which I belonged. At length the time came when I had to present myself for conscription and I was drafted into a Carbineer regiment stationed at Milan. I was drilled and taught at my own request to read and write, and soon became a proficient scholar in the elementary sense.

The Socialists were very active at that period and I read a lot of their literature which was smuggled into barracks, and became an orthodox Marxian Socialist, believing in the triumph of the State over the individual.

My experiences as a soldier showed me that the State triumphed over the individual with a vengeance. There was a strike in Milan and the strikers looted some bakers' shops. The Carbineer regiment to which I belonged was called out and ordered to fire on the starving mob and then disperse them with fixed bayonets. I fired in the air, so did many of the soldiers, but several were killed amongst the crowd, and I realised how terrible it was for a man to be a slave to some hidden power which could compel him to uphold all kinds of wrongs and crimes. Then came the war with Abyssinia, which was deliberately planned to direct public attention from Crispi's crimes ; as I afterwards came to believe.

I was sent to the front and was slightly wounded and taken prisoner at Adowa.

We had been told dreadful things about the Abyssinians, that they were remorseless savages and that any Italian so unfortunate as to fall into their hands would be terribly tortured. I found them to be a kindly, generous people, living mainly in peace and plenty under almost Communist Anarchist conditions, although, unfortunately, the growth of European Capitalism seems destined to impose its odious thralldom upon them, when they will, as a matter of course, become as cruel, selfish, dishonest and criminal as Europeans and Americans.

I was nominally a prisoner in the hut of a man named Asaluki. He and his wife grew corn, fruit, and vegetables on land that was common to every one. There were large herds of cattle that supplied them with milk and meat when they required it. The only thing that troubled these excellent people was the tribute or tax they had to pay to Menelek, the Emperor.

To pay this tax the people had to sell cattle to traders, and no doubt as Abyssinia gets complicated with Italy and England these taxes will grow and eventually landlordism and capitalism as we know it in England and elsewhere will be introduced, fostered and protected, of course, by the State, without which they could not exist.

I want to make this clear. Landlordism and rent would be things of the past were it not for the State. Where is the individual who would pay rent, were it not for the broker's man, who has behind him all the resources of civilization in the shape of policemen soldiers, judges, and hangmen? Where is the individual who if he had free access to the necessary tools and machinery, would work say for ten hours a day in order to give the capitalist a profit say of four shillings on his day's labour.

It is only because the State prevents by force people working for themselves and compels them either to pay tribute to landlord and capitalist or starve that the iniquitous system of the robbery of labour exists to-day.

When I returned to Italy I discovered another object lesson in the benefits of State supervision. My pay of fivepence per day was stopped from the period I was taken prisoner. Eventually I was discharged from the army as the slight wound I had received unfitted me for long marches.

I joined an Anarchist group at Milan and wrote a pamphlet called "The truth about the Abyssinian War." For distributing copies amongst the soldiers I was arrested and sent to prison for six weeks.

On my release I gave several lectures and advocated a general strike. The Socialists used to come and oppose us Anarchists just as they do here, and always

point out their universal panacea, the State ownership and control of everything, just as if State and municipal employees, postmen, soldiers, policemen, tramway-men, and others were not even more abject slaves than ordinary workmen.

After some experience as a lecturer and after two terms of imprisonment I came to the conclusion that the only hope for the masses is Revolution. Society as it exists to-day must be destroyed. A Socialist State would have the same effect upon the whole people that the partial socialism that already exists has upon those engaged under its operation.

The first thing the State does is to "discipline" its employees. That is, break them in like horses, to obey, without question or reflection, whatever orders they receive.

Soldiers, policemen, magistrates and hangmen would never commit the frightful crimes they do were it not for this State terrorism, for until they were disciplined or broken in they were men !

There were some riots four years ago at Bologna which the authorities held were incited by me. I was sentenced to twelve months and expulsion from Italy.

Accordingly on my release I came to London, where I have lived ever since.

In London the Socialists talk a lot about the London County Council and many point to its work as an object lesson in what Socialism can accomplish. To

my mind it is an example of the evils of Municipal capitalism. It forces great numbers of poor people to pay rates to build houses of refuge, L.C.C. lodging houses and model dwellings for those poorer than themselves, and then refuses to let these very poor enter unless they pay rent in advance !

When I walk round London I fail to see the necessity for building L.C.C. lodging houses and model dwellings for the poor, thereby taking away money that could be better spent by its owners than in enriching a few officials and contractors. In Belgravia and Mayfair alone there are hundreds of magnificent houses, beautifully furnished with every necessity lying empty, used by *no one*. If they had any ordinary sense the homeless and badly housed people would quietly go and live in these houses, for surely things that are unused by anyone especially necessities of life, like food, clothes and houses, should be used by those that require them. Any one to-day, however, who does or even attempts this natural act would be put in prison and if he resisted would be probably shot.

At once my opponents say : “ Yes, how about the drunkards ? How they would revel in beer ! Drunkenness like all forms of crime is the direct result of the State. Because brewers and distillers own capital, workmen are compelled to work for them or starve. The State licenses publicans, who again are able to dictate terms to barmen and barmaids, and frequently adulterate

drink to increase their profits, so as to be able in many cases to keep a roof over their heads and their personal possessions from the clutches of the broker's man and the tax gatherers.

In an Anarchistic condition of Society there would be no drunkenness, because no one could make a profit out of manufacturing drink. If a man or association of men wanted beer they could make it for themselves like my friends in Abyssinia and drink as much as they pleased, but there would be no one to advertise and force drink upon people by engendering trouble and misery, hence drunkenness, as we know it now, would not exist.

With regard to the assassination of rulers by individual Anarchists I consider these deeds as regrettable but necessary incidents in the war between classes that exist to-day.

Millions of people are murdered annually by landlords and capitalists, but it has become so common to starve men, women, and children to death, by preventing them forcibly from partaking of food that is rotting around them, that only a few thinkers ever realise the enormity of the crimes of Society. If an Anarchist kills a king or two in a decade people shriek with frenzy and fear. Remember, the Anarchists are feared by the rulers of Europe, heads that wear crowns were never so uneasy in the world's history as they are at present.

Anarchy

All great reforms have had their prelude in crime. Assassination is merely a symptom of the social malady, the killing by Society of the assassin will not cure the disease. Only Revolution and an Anarchist Society free from a central State authority, consisting of voluntary associations of men and women who mutually agree to work for their common good will ever bring about an era of Peace and Plenty on earth.

CHAPTER XXVI

POLICE SURVEILLANCE OF ANARCHISTS

It is generally admitted by the police of all countries that Anarchists do not resort to conspiracy. It is this very fact which makes it so difficult to guard against Anarchist outrages which are almost invariably the work of an individual.

Mr. Robert A. Pinkerton, of the famous American Detective Agency, states in Vol. 113 of the *North American Review* that "the great majority of Anarchists in this country and abroad are a sufficiently harmless body of men and women. They have what they consider advanced ideas on government, or lack of government, but are unalterably opposed to all forms of murder and violence. They realise that such an event as the assassination of President McKinley, the King of Italy, and the Empress of Austria, would arouse public opinion against them, therefore they are violently opposed to the perpetration of these deeds and to those who inspire them."

As it is consequently impossible to be forewarned

Anarchy

of attempts on the life of a monarch "from information received," other measures of a more direct character had to be adopted. The principal and most reliable one is to watch the hands of all suspicious and unknown persons in a crowd. All detectives who have to guard the lives of rulers and other prominent persons, have this simple rule inculcated in them, that it is the hands alone which can do mischief. Whether the intended outrage be bomb-throwing, shooting, or stabbing, the hands are the medium, and it is the hands must be watched. Simple as this rule is, it was through its non-observance that President McKinley lost his life, for Czolgosz went into the crowd with his right hand covered. The covering concealed the knife with which he committed the murder.

All advocates of force, or violent Anarchists are not necessarily would-be assassins. The great majority believe in an armed Revolution, but not in the "removal" of individuals; indeed they hold such outrages in great abhorrence. Still it is from the ranks of the "Reds," as they are called, that the perpetrators of outrages are to be looked for; and from amongst those who are opposed to such violent crimes the police have recruited quite a large staff of spies, both men and women. It is not going too far to say that an Anarchist of known violent tendencies, one who lauds and advocates outrage, is spied upon in his every action and every movement.

Superintendent Melville's statement at the Walsall Anarchist trial that he had had numerous Anarchists in his pay, has already been quoted. It is in itself authoritative foundation for my assertion that all Anarchist "groups" are permeated by police spies. What, it may be asked, is the good of a system of spying when the crimes of Anarchy are almost invariably the work of individuals who closely guard their fell purpose, as did Luccheni, Bresci and so many others? When assassination, which is the outcome of Anarchistic views, is practically never the result of a conspiracy, the reader may be excused for thinking that the police system of so largely employing spies largely results in wasted endeavour. That to a large extent is true, but it is the best possible measure of precaution which the police can take, and while ever Anarchy and hideous crime are so intimately associated the police are bound to adopt every possible precaution.

The system of spying may not discover the dark secret of a Luccheni or a Bresci, but it can note and inform the police of all suspicious circumstances, and the man or woman who is branded with this suspicion is, from the moment he or she is thus brought under the observation of the police, followed in every step and watched in every movement. The beneficial effect of this surveillance it is, of course, impossible to gauge; as apart from the possession of bombs or other

murderous instruments, it is impossible to lay bare a murderous design, but in hampering the movements of suspicious Anarchists and rendering it impossible for them to perpetrate outrage there is no doubt that the police have frustrated many a contemplated Anarchist crime, which would otherwise have been committed.

The most valuable information comes from women spies. These frequent the dubious haunts of the foreign immigrants in Soho and the East End, and report new arrivals from whom, when they are under the influence of liquor, they worm the main facts of their past histories. This is not a very difficult task, as no blackguard in the gallery of Stevensonian literature glories more in his foul deeds than does the average Anarchist. As a rule the loud-mouthed Anarchist boaster is a man who is content to live on his past deeds, and generally may be regarded as an extinct volcano ; but as volcanoes are always liable to fresh eruptions, it is not safe to assume that they are extinct, and so each undesirable alien coming to this country with an evil reputation founded on Anarchistic tendencies increases the work, the responsibilities, and the worries of the police force.

A very careful record is kept of all known Anarchists in this country. Their lodgings and haunts are kept under constant surveillance ; they are shadowed when they move from one abode to another ; and when they

quit this country, the police of the country to which they transfer their unwelcome patronage are apprised of their coming.

There is a perfect international police understanding with regard to Anarchists, and between the police of the various countries there is a continuous exchange of the photographs of Anarchists to assist the mutual aim to do all that is humanly possible to frustrate the evil deeds which Anarchism so prolifically breeds.

The Paris Police have, it is said, the most perfect photographic gallery of Anarchists. They are reported to have the portraits of no fewer than 4,000 known Anarchists, to each of which is appended a brief and damning resumé of the career of the individual. All of these have been duplicated for the benefit of the English and American police ; and have no doubt also been placed at the service of the police of various other countries.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ANARCHIST HYMN—"LA CARMAGNOLE"

THE French National Anthem, the Marseillaise, has so long been regarded as the war song of Revolution that it is perhaps necessary to explain that Anarchists, and indeed many Socialists regard the Marseillaise as anathema. They would as soon think of singing or playing "God Save the King" as they would the Republican Hymn. Their favourite anthem is "La Carmagnole," which is sung to an old Provence melody which originally celebrated the conclusion of the vintage season. During the French Revolution it became the recognised anthem of the advanced Revolutionists and from them it has descended to the Anarchists.

The English translation here given was made by David Nichol, at one time editor of *The Commonwealth*.

THE CARMAGNOLE.

Oh, what is it the people cry ?
They ask for all men liberty.
The palace we will burn,
The prison overturn,
Give peace to lowly homes,
Vive le son, vive le son,
Give peace to lowly homes,
Vive le son du canon.

Dansons la Carmagnole—
Vive le son, vive le son ;
Dansons la Carmagnole—
Vive le son du canon.

Oh, what is it the people cry ?
They ask for all equality.
The poor no more shall be
In slavish misery.
The idle rich shall flee ;
Vive le son, etc.

Oh, what is it the people need ?
They ask for bread and iron and lead .
The iron to win our way,
The lead our foes to kill,
The bread our friends to feed.
Vive le son, etc.

Anarchy

Oh, what is it the people cry ?
Away with pious priests that lie !
Christ to the stable go ;
The Virgin lieth low ;
Their God to hell may fly !
Vive le son, etc.

Oh, would the peoples all agree
To live in love and liberty ;
Are we not fools to fight
To please the rich man's spite ?
Let's feast right merrily ;
Vive le son, vive le son.
Let's feast right merrily ;
Vive le son du canon.
Dansons la Carmagnole, etc.

This is the wild revolutionary melody that is almost invariably sung at Anarchist meetings and demonstrations.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PORTUGUESE ASSASSINATIONS—MURDER OF THE
KING AND CROWN PRINCE, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY
1ST, 1908

SCARCELY is the ink dry on what were intended to be the concluding lines of this attempt to throw some light on that psychological puzzle, "Anarchism," when the news reaches me, in common with every newspaper reader throughout the civilized world, of the horrible assassinations of the King and Crown Prince of Portugal. One is so shocked on the first receipt of the news that it is almost impossible to take a level estimate of the causes or the agencies which have been at work. It seems, however, possible to say that much of the mischief has been wrought by the bad counsel to which the late king, unfortunately, lent too ready an ear. This view is borne out by the anguished reproach of the Queen when the "Dictator," the ex-President, Senhor Franchó, entered the death chamber: "Behold your work!"

It is obvious that the Portuguese unrest was

caused and accentuated by the suspension of constitutional government, but it is equally certain, in the opinion of the writer, that the dreadful assassinations in which this unrest found ultimate expression, were the outcome of the acceptance of anarchistic opinions. It is quite impossible, to my mind, to assume that a Republican doctrinaire would dream of enforcing his views in the first place by assassination, or, in the second place, by the sacrifice of his own life; but the holder of anarchistic views becomes a fanatic to whom no crime is too terrible if he can bring himself to believe that the result will benefit humanity; and no sacrifice—not even the loss of his own life—too great.

The list of rulers who have lost their lives at the hands of Anarchists is as follows:—

1865. April—President Lincoln (U.S.A.).—Shot.

1881. March—Czar Alexander.—Bomb.

1881. July—President Garfield (U.S.A.).—Shot.

1894. June—President Carnot (France).—Stabbed.

1896. May—Shah of Persia.—Shot.

1898. September—Empress of Austria.—Stabbed.

1900. July—King Humbert of Italy.—Shot.

1901. September—President McKinley (U.S.A.).—
Shot.

1903. June—King and Queen of Servia.—Shot.

1905. February—Grand Duke Sergius.—Bomb.

The Portuguese Assassinations 239

1906. March—M. Petkoff, Bulgarian Premier.—
Shot.

1906. May—Count Ignatieff.—Shot.

It will be noticed from the foregoing list that the Anarchist is no respecter of persons. His hatred is directed against the ruler, and whether he be a president of a republic, elected by the voice of the people, or a monarch reigning according to the stereotyped rule of succession, it apparently makes no difference to him.

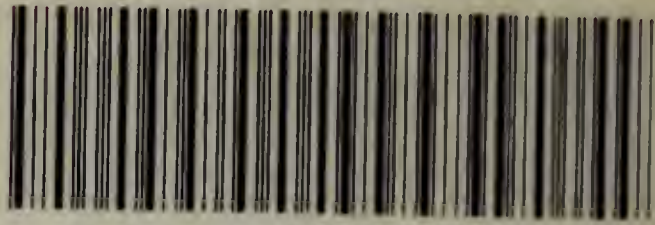
It is idle to deny that a theory which can gain recruits who advocate its principles with the certain sacrifice of their lives as their hostage to fortune, is worthy serious consideration. In my opinion the time has arrived when a serious effort should be made to challenge and counteract their pernicious views on a friendly and logical basis. Much money is spent on the endeavour to thwart, prevent, and counteract their meditated crimes; but no systematic effort is made to convince them that their aspirations are impracticable, and the methods they contemplate or condone abominable. The writer hesitates to lay down the startling proposition that all sincere Anarchists are honest, but his experience leads him to this conclusion; and he is convinced that if this wrong-headed and impractical doctrine were sanely tackled in a friendly spirit, it would do more good than the methods which are now adopted, which are

necessarily all of a preventive and repressive character.

He has no hope that his suggestion will receive any consideration, but he is quite certain that the day will come when it will not only be considered, but will be acted on. A mission to anarchists sounds chimerical, but much money and effort are expended in fields where far less is to be achieved.

A noticeable incident in connection with the terrible assassinations at Lisbon, was the refusal of the Socialist wings in several of the Continental Parliaments to permit a unanimous vote of condolence to be passed. It would be unfair to take this ungracious action as approval of the crimes; but it proved unmistakably how widespread was the opposition to the autocratic and unconstitutional rule of the late King Carlos. Such a feeling may be entirely dissociated from Anarchism, but it undoubtedly breeds it. The wind of oppression is almost certain to breed the whirlwind of Anarchism. The immediate adoption of constitutional methods by the young King of Portugal, acting, no doubt, under the advice of his heroic mother, Queen Amelie, is the surest promise of peace for that country. The young King and his mother have the sympathy of the whole world; and the peoples of all nations are united in the hope that Anarchism will never again rear its baneful head in their country.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 004547532